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INDI

PREFACE.

After so many have written about India, some apology may be expected from the Author for intruding the following volume on the world. The only apology which he can present is, that he did not think the subject by any means exhausted, and that he hoped still to be able to convey some information respecting India and its people, to the minds of the supporters of missions in particular, not generally possessed by them; and which might be the means of exciting a greater interest on its behalf, and of thus stirring up to greater efforts for its evangelization.

Many years ago, when the Author was about to proceed to India, a learned friend suggested to him, that something on the subject of the extent of moral knowledge possessed by the heathen of that country would be useful, as tending to throw some light on the difficult question of their moral accountableness. This subject was not lost sight of during his period of missionary labour at Benares—a locality which, more than any other in India, was suitable for ascertaining the real sentiments, especially, of the Hindoos; as the more learned Brahmans of that celebrated city, with whom he had necessarily much intercourse, are regarded as the highest authorities on all subjects connected with Hinduism. His more direct work, as a missionary, however, prevented him from having leisure to write anything on the subject, till he was obliged to return home, in consequence of ill health. After his recovery, he commenced an essay, which he intended to publish, but

on mentioning it to some friends, they pressed him not to confine his work to a short essay on the moral sentiments of the Hindoos; but so to extend the plan as to give more general information about the country and people, with whom he had been most familiar. To these suggestions he yielded, and has given loose sketches of the country, and its inhabitants, partly from notes made on several journeys by land, and voyages on the Ganges, and partly from memory of scenes and persons, not easily forgotten. The intelligent reader will easily perceive, that the matter intended for the originally proposed essay is mostly worked into the latter chapters of the volume, which are, therefore, necessarily of a much more elaborate nature than the others, or at least have cost the Writer more pains.

The Author is well aware that he has brought forward opinions on some points, considerably different from those held by men whose sentiments on oriental questions may be deserving of more respect than his own; but this he conceives to be the better way for the advancement of truth. Respect for the opinions of others, though it should prevent one from dogmatizing, should not prevent him from stating his own. In taking the laws of Manu as the basis of his reasoning, on the moral knowledge of the Hindoos, the Writer thought he pursued the simplest course, as that ancient work is well known, and accessible for verification. No doubt, other Hindoo Shasters differ from Manu on some points, but the differences are, generally, not of much importance.

Most of the present volume has been written at intervals, often distant from each, and during journeys in different parts of the kingdom, while pleading the cause

of India among the churches in England and Scotland. This has been a considerable disadvantage, as the Author did not always recollect, when writing one chapter, what he had said in the others, when occasion required to refer to the same subject. Several passages will, therefore, be found, in which the same, or nearly the same, remarks are made, and which were not observed till printed; that, as well as some typographical errors, for which he is not altogether personally responsible, he hopes will meet with some indulgence, considering the circumstances in which the volume has been prepared.

In his various journeys in pleading the cause of India, the Writer has found that much information is wanted about that country, which could not be appropriately communicated in public speeches. He hopes that not a little of such information will be found in this volume. As it respects the subject of Hindoo mythology—a subject in itself very extensive, and by no means easy—he thought it well to say very little, if any thing, as that subject had better be treated by itself; but, should no abler writer take it up, the Author may, at some future period, attempt in some measure its elucidation.

Though the following volume cannot be regarded as, strictly speaking, a missionary work, though written by one who wishes to live and to die an Indian missionary, it is to be hoped that, by making some minds more familiar with India, it will produce a greater interest in that great country, and lead to more vigorous efforts for its christianization. If such, in any degree, should be the result, the Author's labour will not be in vain, nor his hopes disappointed.

W. B.

Aberdeen, *March* 11, 1848.

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RECOLLECTIONS

OF

NORTHERN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL IN INDIA.—THE CITY OF MADRAS.—MODES OF LANDING.—REMARKS ON EUROPEAN AND NATIVE SOCIETY.—PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

About a hundred years ago, a voyage to India was regarded as a subject of some interest, and there were many who would have read an account of its incidents, and of the scenes through which the voyager must necessarily pass. Such readers, however, have long since been gathered to their fathers. The passage round the Cape of Good Hope, so formidable to our ancestors, is now made every year by some hundreds of young ladies, fresh from boarding-schools, with as little apprehension as a London lady thinks it becoming to exhibit on a trip to Ramsgate; and when over, it is thought only a little more worthy of being recorded.

Even the more recently opened route by the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea, has become too familiar to be interesting, unless to a select few, who delight in deciphering hieroglyphics, and in identifying the mummies of the pyramids with ancient kings of Egypt.

The Nile itself, from Alexandria to Cairo seems almost as familiarly known as the Thames from Margate to London bridge, and the pyramids of Egypt, as the monument of London on Fish-Street-

Hill; while by almost every midshipman of the navy, the navigation of the Levant, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, is nearly as well understood as that of the British Channel from the Lizard to Beachy Head.

In writing, therefore, about India, it is not necessary to say any thing about how one gets there. Passengers may be supposed to go to sleep as soon as they have posted their farewell letters to friends, who are either glad to get quit of them, or sincerely sorry to part with them. Still, however, to all, and most of all to the young, the departure for India is a crisis pregnant with consequences most important to their future character; and not only to their own personal history, and that of the family with which they may be connected, but sometimes to that of the country which they leave, or of that to which they are going. In one way or another, the time at sea passes away almost imperceptibly. If one employs himself diligently with books, it is a golden opportunity; as after he has heard the opinions of his fellow-voyagers on the current topics of the day, which he can generally do before the ship has cleared the chops of the channel, he may devote all his time, save that spent in exercise or at meals, to such literary pursuits as may suit his taste. He has no responsibility, either as it respects the nautical, or the culinary department of the enterprise. The captain and his officers are generally well qualified to take care of the safety of the ship, and the steward and cook, have both the means and the ability to provide him with a good dinner. He may keep snug in his own little cabin as he pleases, and enjoy dignified leisure, or he may walk or sit on deck, converse with others, or employ himself in any way most agreeable to his inclination.

If he is not a good sailor, he may be a little sea-sick in the Bay of Biscay. He is sure to feel not quite comfortable under a vertical sun in passing the line, and unless he takes great care, he is in danger of becoming so nervously irritable as to dispute and quarrel with his fellow-passengers, and even with himself. In passing round the Cape he may meet with storms, but though they may sometimes carry away topmasts, spars, and bulwarks, he is by that

time so well accustomed to the sea and its vicissitudes, that, though he may at some moments think his voyage is about to terminate in the middle, he is rarely, if ever, deprived of his usual sleep at night, or his appetite during the day.

The monotony of the voyage, however, to one who keeps his mind employed, seems to come to an end sooner than he expected. The stentorian voice of the first mate shouts,—"Let go the anchor!" and in an instant all is turned to a scene of the greatest animation. If the passengers are still in bed, the horrid sound of fifty or sixty fathoms of chain cable thundering along the decks over their heads, at once breaks in on their slumbers. They run up to see what is the matter, and find the ship swinging round to her anchor, in the midst of many other noble vessels in Madras roads; and on looking around them, they behold the shores of India stretching along for many miles, and the rolling waves breaking in a long, white, and formidable surf on the sandy beach.

The appearance of the city of Madras from the sea is not very striking or interesting. To those, however, who for several months have beheld merely the sea and sky, but "not their mother earth," land of any kind is a welcome sight. When, instead of the long hazy horizon, on which often for many weeks nothing has been seen, save the curling crest of a broken wave, or the white speck shown by the wing of an Albatross, a Booby or a Cape pigeon, often mistaken for a sail, the eye first rests on the extended outline of green waving bamboos, lofty palmyras, cocoa-nut, peepul, mangoe, and tamarind trees, with a few lofty hills in the back-ground, there is such a relief to ennui, that the mind at once bounds with a delight that can be experienced only by those who for long have been confined to the narrow limits, and dull routine of a floating prison. No ships in the world contain in them more of the comforts, safety, and even social enjoyments, and luxuries of life, than English East-Indiamen; but after all, what is a ship at best but a "prison in which one has the chance of being drowned?" I never yet heard of any human being, old or young, who would not, after a long voyage most gladly have jumped into the first boat he could find,

and go on shore, whatever might be the danger or inconvenience of landing, even though he had nothing in the world to do but to stare around him, or be stared at. Here even sedate men, past the prime of life, who have been in India before, and to whom it presents no novelty, are as eager to get ashore as the youngest griffin from Adiscombe, or Hailibury college, though they have a little more patience and consideration in carrying their wishes into effect.

The young military cadet is generally all eagerness to land in the country where he hopes, like a future Wellington, to reap laurels, and lay the foundation of his fame. His new uniform, that has been carefully kept in his trunk till now, is donned for the first time, and his sword buckled on with an air of military nonchallance indicative of the conquer-or-die spirit of the wearer. It is only a few months since he escaped from the birch of the pedagogue; but he has made wonderful progress since then, especially in the knowledge of such men and things as himself. He jumps into the first boat he can get, and away he goes through the breakers of that perverse surf. As the boat strikes the shore, a heavy wave breaks right over her, and the first introduction to India of the youthful aspirant for military fame, is a scramble on all fours up the beach, his handsome new scarlet uniform drenched with sea water, while his fine new hat and white feathers come floating ashore after him. He crawls from the surf, and finds himself at last on the shores of India. Such has been the first landing in that country of some who went out as thoughtless youths, but whose names are now famous in the annals of the British Indian Empire, and even of the civilized world.

Those who have been in India before, are not generally in such a hurry to land. They here receive letters and papers, and are busy in their enquiries about friends, and companions, whom they left in the country. Experience has also taught them, that it will be easier to land in the evening when the breeze has died away. The military man gets the last papers, and especially the Gazette, to see who has died or been killed, or has retired from the service, so as to give him a step of promotion, either in his own regiment,

or in the army in general; while the civilian is equally anxious to see about the state of civil appointments, in the various departments in which he may be called to serve. If there has been a war, or a sickly season, the military man's hopes are raised. If the senior officers of his corps have either died, or retired, he thinks himself very fortunate, and though he may regret that he will no longer be associated with those with whom he has passed most of his time, either in peace or in war, for many years, it is wonderful how completely his own advancement in the service, consoles him for the loss of his friends. The ship is now surrounded by great numbers of native boats of various descriptions, the better class of which come to take the passengers ashore, who are in general in a state of great excitement, either of a painful or of a pleasurable nature. Some are hearing of the death of friends whom they expected here to meet them; and, in other cases, friends are unexpectedly met, who were supposed to be at a great distance.

Those who are to remain at Madras are hurrying to get ashore, and those who are going on to Calcutta, are equally in a bustle to land and spend a few days on terra firma before the ship resumes her voyage. As boat after boat leaves the ship's side, pathetic scenes of parting, with or without regret, are going on, and the strongest expressions of attachment, and of mutual regard, and good wishes, are being made, many of them no doubt sincere, but others of them of a somewhat doubtful character, as the parties have squabbled all the way from England. It is peculiarly edifying to see the forgiving spirit displayed by some of the ladies, who have been looking daggers at each other during the greater part of the voyage, and whose misunderstandings, on many points of no small importance in their own eyes, have often endangered the public harmony of the floating community. All is now over, and they kiss each other, and part with sobs and tears; some of them, indeed, being so much affected as to fall into hysterical fits, so as to have to be carried over the side of the ship almost in a state of insensibility. Hats and caps are taken off and waved, and the sailors give a loud cheer as each party pushes off from the ship,

and, last of all, the senior members of the Madras portion of the company, leave in the cool of the evening, and in all probability the acquaintanceships formed on the voyage cease for ever. This is not, however, always the case, as many intimate and endearing friendships have been formed on the voyage to India, of the most enduring character, and productive, in that distant land, of the most useful results.

The boats used for landing at Madras have been often described. Some of them are very large, and intended to bring off goods from the shore, or to land them from the vessels, as the shallowness of the water, and the violence of the surf, prevent ships from getting near the land. As many of the European ships bound to Calcutta land part of their passengers and cargo here, they sometimes take in more for Bengal; but a great part of the trade along the coast is carried on by native craft of a very clumsy and primitive appearance. There are, however, many vessels of European models, belonging both to native and other merchants, engaged in the trade between this and other places in India.

The boats used for landing passengers here are strong and commodious. Their planks are fixed together with cords instead of being nailed, so that they are quite elastic, and well calculated to bear the surf and the hard thumps they receive in being so often dashed against the beach. The surf is generally so violent that ordinary boats would be swamped, or dashed to pieces, by the breakers on the shore; but these boats being both elastic and flattish in the bottom, take the ground easily, and rarely are upset. The boatmen are all natives, and though apparently feeble and slenderly made are very alert. What they want in strength of arm they would seem to make up in power of lungs,—every one speaking, shouting, or singing at the same time, and that incessantly. They shew, however, great ingenuity in managing their boats in this dangerous surf. On getting near the shore into somewhat shallow water, the waves begin to roll on with great force, their crests curling over the stern of the boat, and threatening to ingulf her at once. The boatmen, who are numerous, lie on their oars and watch

the moment when the swell of the approaching billow catches the boat, when all at once they join in a simultaneous shout of something like—Yilla! yilla! yilla! and plying their oars with all their might, keep her on the top of the wave, and are thus borne on with it, as it rolls towards the shore. This wave, however, outruns them, but is soon followed by another and another, which they receive in the same way, till the boat is carried over the whole, and pitched with a bump on the shore. Parties unacquainted with the nature of the place are apt to think she has gone to pieces, and are ready to make the best of their way overboard, when generally another billow heaves her up again, and throws her high and dry on the beach, where all may get out as they like. Sometimes a wave breaks over the boat and almost fills her, and of course in rough weather, landing is dangerous, and occasionally quite impracticable.

In coming off from the land, the process is a little different, but the danger of getting a wetting is perhaps even greater. In landing on one occasion at Madras, I got only a little spray, but in coming off, received a most complete drenching. The ship, in which I was about to proceed to Calcutta, was weighing anchor, and the evening seemed so calm that there was scarcely a ripple on the sea. There did not seem to be any surf, and another boat with the captain and others, had just gone off, without any difficulty, a few minutes before we were ready. A fellow passenger and his lady were with me in the boat. After we had gone out a little way, and were making ourselves quite comfortable, expecting no interruption to the smoothness of our passage to the ship, all at once several waves seemed to rise ahead as if by some magical power, and broke right over the boat one after the other. One of the waves went clear over us, drenching us, and almost filling the bottom of the boat with water. The lady, thinking for an instant that the boat had gone down, sprung up to jump overboard, and try to get back to the shore; but being between her husband and myself, she was easily detained in our grasp, till convinced, by the boat rising on the top of the next wave, that she had not upset. In consequence of the alarm and wetting, the lady was taken ill with fever after getting

on board, and did not recover till we reached Calcutta. My own damage by the adventure consisted in spoiling a suit of clothes and a new watch, into which the salt water had penetrated rendering it useless for ever. Not long ago I saw an account of the death of a lady from illness, occasioned by the wetting and alarm received in landing at Madras. Such however is the apathy, or want of public spirit in the government and mercantile community of Madras, that although it has been clearly shown by scientific men, that the erection of a breakwater, and landing place, of a safe and commodious character, is quite practicable, no adequate effort has been made to accomplish an object so essential to the comfort of the people, and to the prosperity of the commerce of this important city.

There is another kind of vessels used here, constructed on a plan the most primitive that can easily be conceived as among the first efforts of men in the art of navigation. These are called catamarans. They are merely small rafts, generally composed of three pieces of wood, broad at one end and tapering towards the other, fixed together with cords, both in the middle and at the extremities. On this humble bark one, two, or three men, sit or stand, and paddle even far out to sea, passing through the surf in weather that would be dangerous to the strongest boats. The raft itself is so small that it is depressed quite to the level of the water by the weight of the men, who either sit cross legged, or stand upright, as convenient to themselves. In consequence of this, when they are seen from a little distance, they appear at first to be sitting or standing on the water, the catamaran itself being quite invisible. The first time I saw them, the impression was rather singular. We were approaching Madras roads, and a fog had suddenly cleared off, when on looking round us, we saw the ship quite surrounded by a great number of men apparently in a state of nudity, standing on the water, some of them with their arms folded across their bosoms, looking at us with great composure, while others seemed very cheerful, singing, or shouting to each other. These were engaged in fishing, in order to carry the products of their labour to the Madras market. As soon as the ship came to an anchor, she was at once

surrounded by scores of similar vessels from the shore, bringing baskets full of fruit, vegetables, &c. for which they soon got a ready sale, and perhaps ten times as much money as they would have brought in the common bazaar ashore. The quality indeed of some of the articles was such, that they could have scarcely been sold at all in the ordinary market; but after a long voyage people run on fruits of almost any kind, and are ready to give almost any price that may be asked. While every one is ready to purchase fruits, which perhaps he never saw or tasted before, such as plantains, mangoes, pumaloes, &c. whether green or ripe, eatable or uneatable, utterly ignorant of what they ought to cost, the seller is ready to take silver of every coinage and of every country, assured that if it is silver at all, which he is generally shrewd enough to know, it must be of much more value than what he can usually get for his wares in the common bazaar. The sailors, especially, who have lived mostly on salt provisions during the long voyage from England, are ready to give almost any thing for fruits, often very bad of their kind, or not half ripe; and in consequence of this imprudence often bring on themselves complaints of which they never recover. A fine young officer of the ship on which I returned from India, died on the way home, in consequence of neglecting all advice in this respect.

Besides fishing and conveying such articles as fruit, &c. to the vessels in the roads, the catamarans are used for carrying letters, and communications of various kinds, between the mercantile houses and the shipping outside. The men stick the letters in the inside of a peculiar description of cap, which fits so tightly on their heads, that when they are upset in the water and have to swim, they may not be wetted. These men seem to be almost as amphibious as seals or water fowl. Their principal enemies are said to be the sharks, here very numerous, especially the large ground shark, the most dangerous species of these voracious monsters, who are said not unfrequently to seize the catamaran men when upset in the surf.

I am not aware that such accidents occur very often, but I have seen accounts of some instances of the kind in the public papers

during the last few years;—at all events there is little doubt but the coast near abounds with the most dangerous kind of sharks, and it would be truly surprising, if these men, so constantly in the water, did not occasionally become their prey. The shark, however, like the lion and other formidable enemies of mankind, has no doubt had his powers greatly exaggerated by the terrors of those who have been exposed to his attacks, or to increase the honour of those who, single handed, have occasionally overcome him. Certainly, however, a large bottlenosed shark is an enemy that few would despise, and whom still fewer would like to encounter in his own briny element. That he could with perfect ease bite off an arm or a leg, or even a human head, if it were not very large, it is easy to believe; but out of at least twenty that I have seen taken, I never saw one that could have gulped down, without mastication, even a boy of seven or eight years of age, unless remarkably small, instead of a sergeant of marines, or a full grown sailor, many of whom, we are told, they have swallowed. That their size, as well as their voracity, has been greatly exaggerated there seems to be little doubt, and in fact some of those whom I have seen taken were declared by gentlemen, who had spent most of their lives at sea in tropical climates, to be about as large as they had ever seen; and it would have been somewhat difficult to conceive where they could have disposed of even a very little man, had it been possible for them to get him, in whole bulk, down their somewhat capacious throats. It may be true, that some of them may have swallowed a full grown man, without dividing him into convenient portions, but I have never seen the shark that could have done it, nor the person of credit who has witnessed such a feat.

The city of Madras, though in many respects an important place, and the seat of the British government for southern India, is neither, to the mere visitor at least, interesting nor inviting. Its great defect as a mart for commerce has already been noticed, in its want of any bay, or even sheltered roadstead for shipping. It has merely an anchorage, which is at all times exposed and inconvenient, and at certain seasons of the year very unsafe.

The population is large, but scattered about for a considerable number of miles, in what might be called a group of towns, rather than in one regular and compact city. I have heard it estimated at 300,000, and even much more; but as it would seem difficult to say what places in the neighbourhood ought, properly speaking, to be included in Madras, it may be as well not to pretend to make any statement as to the number of its inhabitants. The principal European residences, occupied by the higher officers of government, and the more wealthy merchants, are large and commodious; but those belonging to such of the English inhabitants as are less affluent, do not appear to be constructed with much regard to the requirements of the climate. On the road leading to St. Thomas's mount, where the troops are chiefly stationed, and in some other places, there are many handsome and pleasant houses. With the exception, however, of the Blacktown, as the principal portion of the city occupied by the natives is called, Madras appears to a stranger more like the suburbs of a large city than any thing else, and one always expects to reach some closer or more regularly built town, when he finds himself getting into some wide open space, or coming back on the sea shore. It seems to consist of a chain of suburbs, designed as appendages to a large city, which, like their long talked of breakwater, the inhabitants have not had the energy to build. Whatever might be the feeling produced by a longer familiarity with Madras, the impression which it makes on the mind of a stranger, is far from favourable. The Europeans do not seem healthy; and among the natives there is a general want of apparent respectability, and a manifestation of real or pretended poverty, and an amount of even squalid beggary, that cannot fail to produce a painful impression on the mind of one just entering India, and who naturally takes what he sees before him as a fair specimen of the country to which he has come. Such was my impression when I first saw Madras; but after seeing many of the largest cities of India, and again visiting it, I was led to the conclusion, that the number of beggars and of diseased persons is far greater here than in any other city that I have seen. Lepers and

persons afflicted with elephantiasis, and cutaneous diseases of various kinds, are here so numerous, that one is led to imagine that those dreadful complaints are far more common in India than subsequent experience confirms. It has been said, that such persons, being often dependant on charity, crowd into the town from other places; but this must be equally the case with other large cities, such as Calcutta, Patna, Benares, &c., where no such numbers of beggars are to be seen, even if the religious orders of mendicants are included. There must be some other cause affecting Madras, which does not affect those great northern cities; and it is to be feared, that cause is the greater poverty of the country people in general in this part of India.

Another thing in Madras which strikes the attention of a stranger, familiar with other cities of India, is the apparently great preponderance of European and Indo-European influence, over that of the natives. One does not see the same proportion of natives of rank, wealth, or apparent respectibility, as may be met with in Calcutta and other cities. If they are to be found, they do not surround themselves with the same show of attendance and equipage, as usually indicate the rank of natives of the higher classes in the north. That there are many wealthy men among the natives here there can be little doubt; but still there is a very general appearance, as if not merely the higher offices of government, as in other parts of India, were in the hands of Europeans and East-Indians, but even the trade and property of the place, which elsewhere belong, with little exception, to the natives. Most of the more respectable looking natives here, seem quite of a plebeian class, which may be in part accounted for by the fact, that landed property is, to a large extent, held by a somewhat different tenure from that of northern India, in consequence of which there is not such a large body of considerable landholders, forming a native aristocracy, living in general at, or at least often resorting to, the seat of government, either for business or pleasure. Though there would seem to be a considerable amount of commerce, there is an appearance of less enterprise and energy, both in the native and European com-

munities, than in Calcutta. A new era, it is hoped, has commenced in the native society of Madras, and the increased and increasing desire for education, especially in the English language, as well as the progress already made, lead to the sanguine hope that, at no distant period, a great and favourable change will take place in the public mind, and that Christianity will make far greater progress than it has yet done. There are many converts to Christianity at Madras in connexion with the various Protestant missions, and a very considerable community of Roman Catholics, both among the natives, and the classes of mixed origin usually called East-Indians, a large proportion of whom are partially descendants of the earlier Portuguese settlers on the coast. The lower orders of these, are many of them in a very degraded state here, as in other parts of India, and it has been found very difficult to raise them in the scale of society, in consequence of unconquerable indolence of character, and a meanness of spirit which leads them to prefer beggary itself to every thing like laborious or persevering industry. There are, however, among them, many families of great respectability as to worldly circumstances, and many individuals of great excellence of character. Some of them are pious, useful, and most exemplary Christians, and are doing much good, especially in the community to which they belong, whose anomalous position between the Europeans and pure natives, is unfavourable, in many respects, to the growth of proper religious and social feelings.

In the native community, considerable interest has lately been excited, by the conversion of some young men of rather respectable parentage, who had been educated in the school founded here originally by the Established Church of Scotland, but now belong to the Free Church.

A virulent opposition has been raised against Christianity, for which the friends of missions have to thank the miserable truckling and imbecile policy pursued for many years by the Madras government, in the public support and countenance of every puerile superstition practised by the natives, till both it and its functionaries richly deserved what they have obtained—the contempt of their

own subjects, and of the civilized world. While the other governments of British India were, with the exception of a few cases now happily no longer existing, observing a strict neutrality as to the various religions of their subjects, the Madras functionaries were honouring the processions and festivals of the meanest idols of the country, and themselves attending as masters of the ceremonies, and drawing out the troops of the nation, consisting of men of all religions, to fire salutes in honour of the most ridiculous and degrading objects worshipped in India. Let all honour be given to Sir P. Maitland, and all other high-spirited Christian men, who, rather than be the instruments of such base degradation of the name and character of Christianity, chose rather to resign the high appointments and emoluments of the important and responsible offices, to which they had been thought worthy to be raised.

Their refusal to be the agents in carrying on a policy at once contemptible and unchristian, was most honourable to themselves, and gave the death blow to the very humiliating system against which they felt it their duty to protest; but it will take long to efface from the native mind the baneful consequences of the former wretched policy of the Madras government in giving public support and encouragement to idolatry. Its effects are to be seen most, in the opposition of the natives to missions, and Christian education. Accustomed to the government support of idolatry, though it is now withdrawn, they expect the government not merely to grant them the free and open toleration of their religions, but to inflict pains and penalties on missionaries, and others, who attempt by fair persuasion and education, to induce their children and themselves to abandon the foolish, and superstitious practices of their ancestors, and to receive Christianity. When their zeal in the support of Hinduism sunk so low in some places, that they could not muster so many hands and shoulders as might be able to drag the car of their god along, on the day of his festival procession, the English magistrate used to send out his police myrmidons to collect by means of blows and knocks, the involuntary worshippers; and now the people naturally think he is bound to prevent any of their chil-

dren, or neighbours, from forsaking the temples, for the Christian church. But notwithstanding the opposition to the gospel and to Christian education of late, so strongly manifested at Madras, the desire of an improved education, now produced, will increase, and the great superiority, in every respect, of the education given in the missionary institutions to every other, whether heathen or neutral, will, as in other places, ultimately prevail; and thus, in conjunction with the preaching of the gospel, become a powerful instrument in the evangelization of the country. But leaving any detailed account of the missions at Madras to those who have a more extended, and practical, acquaintance with them, let us proceed on our voyage to Northern India.

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE FROM MADRAS TO CALCUTTA.—FIRST APPEARANCE OF BENGAL.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DELTA OF THE GANGES.—ENTRANCE OF THE HUGHLI, AND APPROACH TO THE CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA.—THE GENERAL ASPECT OF THE CITY OF CALCUTTA, AND REMARKS ON THE VARIOUSCLASSES OF ITS INHABITANTS.

In the voyage from Madras to Calcutta there is very little to interest, and in general, it seems to be more tedious, in proportion, than any other part of the way from England. The company is broken up, and though there are now more room and comfortable accommodation on the ship, and something new to talk of in the various adventures of the parties who have been ashore, the idea that we are actually in India, and about to terminate our voyage and enter on new scenes of life in a foreign land, completely unsettles the minds of all the voyagers, and prevents them from going on quietly in their former routine, either of idleness or employment. The ship also gets often becalmed in the bay of Bengal, and then each becomes dissatisfied with his neighbour, as if he were one of the causes of delay. To be tumbled about in a calm, with a heavy ground swell, for a week or two, under a tropical sun, and not making five miles progress in a day, while the port to which you are going, is within a day's sail, is a trial of patience equal to almost any test to which Job had to submit. No one, I suspect, has ever passed through it with anything like perfect equanimity. To walk is impossible from the heavy rolling of the ship, to eat, or to sleep, is impracticable from the excessive heat, and to add to the discomfort, some myriads of musquitoes, cockroaches, and red ants, have taken their passage in the ship from Madras to Calcutta, and by their bites and stings keep every one in a state of irritation by night and by day, unless a hurricane, itself no agreeable visitor, should come and blow them

into the sea. Most experienced persons, therefore, prefer to go with ships bound direct to Calcutta, as they are less subject to these discomforts. The coast of India is rarely seen, after leaving it at Madras, and the first object on the land, that is generally descried, after eight or ten days' sailing, is what the sailors call "The Black Pagoda," but more celebrated as the temple of Jaggatnath, at Pooree in Urissa. Near this, the Madras presidency joins that of Bengal proper. To the young missionary the sight of this noted temple must ever be an object of painful interest. Here, thousands of the deluded victims of the worst forms of Hinduism annually perish, many of whom have wandered even from the most distant parts of India, and after a painful journey, and having been plundered of all they have by the rapacious Brahmans, leave their bones to be picked by dogs and vultures, on a spot where pestilence seems ever to be active. Perhaps no place in India is calculated to produce a more powerful conviction of the pernicious character of common Hinduism than this; not from the numbers who here congregate, for in this respect it is far inferior to several of the principal places of religious resort in Northern India, especially to Benares, Allahabad and Hurdwar; but the sickness, poverty, and death, as well as the cold-blooded heartlessness, especially on the part of the priests, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, by which the Jaggatnath pilgrimage is locally distinguished, give it a bad preeminence in every thing that is evil and hateful. May it, and the system on which it depends, speedily perish! The government connexion with this shrine, so objectionable in every possible respect, has now ceased; but how far the non-interference of the public authorities in the affairs of the temple, will lead to the decline of the pilgrimages, is a question not yet settled. The excellent missionaries of the general Baptist society, who have planted the standard of the cross near this great synagogue of Satan, have already been much blessed in their labours, and the gospel is now spreading in the neighbouring districts. This is the best and only effectual way of abolishing Jaggatnath; for we may rest assured, that if Christianity takes possession of the minds of the people in

the locality, the place will soon cease to be regarded as holy, and the Brahmans will not long advise the people to make long pilgrimages to a spot, where they are more likely to have their faith in Hinduism shaken, than confirmed. This gives a peculiar interest to the mission of our Baptist brethren in this place, and I trust, the body of Christians with whom they are more immediately connected, instead of seeking new missions in other fields, will send many more effective labourers to this one, and persevere, with spirit, till Christianity has once been fully established in the district; and they may rest assured that to them will be the honour of completely abolishing this accursed temple, and its destructive and demoralizing worship, and not to any measures of countenance or disconntenance on the part of the government, or its local functionaries. Christianize the towns and country districts around, and both priests and people will soon abandon the shrine of the bloodstained Jaggatnath.

The approach to the Hughli, the most navigable branch of the Ganges, and that on which Calcutta stands, is through a number of extensive sand-banks, some of which stretch out far to sea, even beyond the sight of land. It requires, therefore, very great care in looking out for the proper channel between these banks, as ships of considerable burden may get on shore, long before they get in sight of land, and there is consequently very great danger in stormy, or in foggy weather. A considerable distance out to sea, near the entrance of the principal channel, several brigs are stationed, some at anchor, and others cruizing about what are called the sand-heads. These belong to "The Pilot service." There is a number of pilots on each of these, one of whom is here put on board each inward bound ship to conduct her to Calcutta, while those, who bring down the outward bound vessels, here resign their charge, and go on board and live on these brigs till they get a vessel to take up. These pilots are all Europeans, and form a regular branch of the government service. They have fixed salaries on rather a liberal scale, besides certain allowances from the ships which they pilot, according to their size. They are an organized body, having different grades of rank and emoluments, to which they must rise by senio-

rity and good conduct, their superintendents having themselves risen through the various grades of the service, and all of them being held responsible by the government, in the same way as its naval and military services in general. Such a regular body of well trained and intelligent pilots, intimately acquainted, not merely with the river and its intricate and ever shifting channels, but with these extensive and changeable sands, even out at sea, becomes highly necessary, as the navigation is peculiarly dangerous, especially during the equinoctial gales, when many a noble ship has been lost among these sands.

However uninteresting to the lover of the picturesque these immense beds of sand, deposited by the mighty Ganges, the Bramhaputra, and other great rivers that here enter the sea, may appear, they are very interesting to the geologist, and even to the speculator on things in general. They show, in a very simple manner, how the whole of that fertile region of Bengal, now the habitation of upwards of thirty millions of people, and capable of sustaining, at least, thirty millions more, with equal ease, has gradually risen from the bed of the ocean, and become one of the most productive countries on the face of the earth.

Thousands on thousands of torrents, the channels of which are most of the year merely dry ravines, bring down masses of sand and gravel, during the rainy season, to the plains of upper Hindustan and the valleys of central India, from the vast chain of the Hymalaya, and other great mountain ranges. These masses of more solid matter are deposited annually, and become mixed with the vegetable soils, or are carried along by the rivers toward the sea, intermingling, as they go, with the vegetable matter carried down from the fertile plains, by the inundations which almost cover them during several months of the year, thus spreading over the Bengal provinces a fertile mould, and gradually covering over even the sands washed by the ocean with a rich alluvial soil.

This great process constantly goes on. Every year the sand banks are not only extending farther into the sea, but the great Gunga, and other rivers, are bringing down from the vast and luxu-

riant regions which they water, layer after layer, of rich vegetable soil, and spreading it over the extended beds of sand already formed, while others, still farther out, are in the course of formation.

In illustration of this process, I may mention, that the captain of the ship on which I returned, directed my attention to a point of land stretching for a good many miles out into the sea, and covered with tall palmyra, cocoa-nut trees, and bamboos, &c., where, he said, that about forty years ago, when he went out as a midshipman, the largest ships used to anchor. Making all allowance for the rapidity of vegetation in this climate, the formation of the land, from a depth where large ships of war, and East Indiamen could anchor, must, in this case, have taken but a very few years.

The sea, however, very often, for a time, reclaims such places, even though its level may not be increased at any given part of the coast. Sometimes it makes such inroads on these lower districts of Bengal, as completely to inundate and destroy the crops over a considerable extent of country. These inundations are not always from the sea, but, I believe, for the most part, from unusually great rains in the interior, raising the rivers to more than their ordinary height during some part of the rainy season, especially when, by very high tides, the sea water runs up the various channels, and intercepts the swollen streams of the Ganges and Bramhaputra. Great distress is often occasioned by such occurrences, and a whole district is, for a time, rendered almost uninhabitable, and the fruits of human labour, for a season at least, almost entirely destroyed. The general effect, however, is beneficial on the whole, as the country, by these repeated deposits of sand and vegetable matter, is gradually raised higher and higher, by each inundation, above the level of the sea, and thus becomes more salubrious, and better adapted for human habitation.

The surface of the various branches of the Ganges, in lower Bengal, is not only in many places higher than that of the country, but the very bottom of the river, though it is every where deep enough to be navigated by vessels of considerable size, is, for the most part, above the level of the cultivated fields, a little inland from its

banks. The overflowings of the river, therefore, very naturally leave behind them, every year, large quantities of sandy mud, especially in the parts nearest its regular stream, which are thus raised like a natural mound or embankment. This process is sometimes, indeed, assisted by art, but art of a very questionable utility, as it increases the evil which it is intended to remedy. Whatever mounds are necessary in a flat country, the rivers themselves naturally throw up, by their own deposite along their banks, whereas confining their waters, by artificial means, to a narrow bed, while from the want of a declivity, the stream cannot be made to flow more rapidly, the substances held so abundantly in solution subside, and constantly elevate the bottom of the channel; so that during inundations, the artificial banks, or mounds, necessarily are overflown, or carried away, and the whole country is swept and ruined by an excessive inundation, instead of being nourished and fertilized by an easy, natural, and seasonable rise of the refreshing waters. Scientific men are now begining to be convinced, that God knows better than man how to direct the flowing of rivers, and the fertilizing of such regions as Bengal, and are in general recommending the government to leave the Ganges to find its way to the sea in any direction it may choose to take, assured that if it occasionally should intrude rather too much on any given place, it will, generally, in the long run, more than pay for all the damage it may do to individuals.

It may be very well to protect cities, and towns, as much as possible from these inundations, but with respect to the country generally, all attempts at protection seem only to increase the evil. During the rains, the waters of the river rise so high, that a great deal of its deposite is spread along the banks of its natural feeders, or of its off-shoots. Many of these feeders are at times reversed; for when the main stream has been much raised by the greater rains in the north-western provinces, the water is carried back up the channels of the tributary rivers, and thus overflows the country along their banks, carrying with it immense quantities of vegetable matter, held in solution, or even sometimes floating in undecayed

masses. When the main stream begins, after perhaps only a few days, to subside, the tributaries slowly resume their natural course; but by this time their dammed back waters have cleared themselves of the immense quantities of sand, and mould, with which they were loaded, leaving the whole, as a rich legacy, on the fields which they have overflown, and especially in the more hollow places where they have longest lingered, and thus assisted to raise to a level with the rest of the country. Where there are not good outlets, the level is sometimes considerably raised, even in one year, and places are to be seen, where deposites of many feet in thickness, extending over a considerable space, have been formed even by one inundation.

Thus, while the lower parts of Bengal, near the sea, are receiving large additions of sand-banks, which are yearly increasing in extent, and becoming first covered with mud, and then with a luxuriant vegetation, and which, though sometimes reclaimed by the power of Neptune in one place, are soon re-formed in some other part of the neighbouring coast, the whole province is undergoing a gradual elevation from the deposits brought down from the comparatively higher provinces of Upper India, while they, in their turn, are receiving a supply from the immense elevated ranges of the Hamalaya mountains. Who does not admire, in this process, the constant working of divine wisdom and boundless power, in thus supplying the older regions of the habitable globe with perennial nourishment, and at the same time, and by the same means, forming, from the bottom of the ocean, new and fertile lands, to become, in due time, suitable abodes for the increasing millions of the human race!

From the extreme lowness of the coast, the land near the mouth of the Hughli, is not seen till it is approached within a short distance. The indications of its being near, are the muddiness of the water, and the sight of a great many vessels, of various sizes and descriptions, from the greatest ships down to the small and curiously-rigged coasters of the native traders, and the still smaller boats of the fisherman. The land, when first seen, is so low as to appear level with the water; and the numerous clumps of bamboos,

cocoa-nut, tar, and other palm trees, with which the coast is covered seem as if they were growing in the sea. As we advance, we find ourselves in a broad estuary, formed by the mainland to the westward, and on the east by Saugur Island. The point of Saugur Island toward the sea is regarded by the Hindoos as sacred, and is called, Gunga Saugur. The word Saugur, though here apparently applied to the Island, means the sea. Gunga Saugur is, therefore, the name given to the spot where the Gunga and the Saugar, or sea, unite.

There is here a temple sacred to Kapil Muni, one of the ancient Hindoo saints. It is a principle of the Hindoo religion, that the waters of the Gunga—everywhere holy, are holier still at any place where they join with any other water. On this principle, the junction of the Gunga and Jumna at Allahabad, and, in general the junctions of all rivers of any importance, with the holy stream, are regarded with much veneration; and bathing at them, especially on certain days in the year, is supposed to cleanse from sin, and to procure temporal and spiritual benefits. There are great gatherings, or bathing festivals, at most of those places, especially during the Hindoo month, which usually corresponds with our January. At this time, a great assembly takes place annually at Saugur, which has acquired no small notoriety from a practice that prevailed here, till put down by the British authorities, of offering children to the Gunga. The deluded Hindoo mothers were here in the practice of throwing into the sea, with their own hands, their infant children, in fulfilment, generally, of vows made to the goddess Gunga, either in seasons of distress, or for the sake of procuring some desirable object. These vows were often made before the children were born, but were not usually fulfilled till they were some years of age. The mother, it is said, generally enticed the child for a considerable way into the water, under pretence of bathing, till she was able to push it beyond its depth, and then leave it to become the prey of the sharks and crocodiles, here very numerous, and by whom it was instantaneously devoured. Since the humane measures of the British Government for the suppression of this, as well as other inhuman

rites, the police are strictly ordered to take every means to prevent and to punish them; and though it is possible they may yet be occasionally practised where the local authorities are not particularly vigilant, yet it is to be hoped that such cases are very rare. Since there have been laws against such rites, the people have been gradually forgetting them, or in general, have begun, at least, to think more correctly respecting them.

Considering that the pilgrims have to reach this rather out-of-the-way sacred place by boats, from the opposite shores of Urissa, and elsewhere, the assembly at the season of the festival is said to be great—exceeding, often, a hundred thousand people. The missionaries of the London, and other societies are in the habit of attending, to preach to the people, and to distribute among them copies of the scriptures and tracts, and generally meet with a good deal of encouragement. At this, as well as other great meetings of the Hindoos, excellent opportunities are found for preaching the gospel to thousands of the heathen, who, from the paucity of the missionaries, could never otherwise hear it at all. Not a few instances of genuine conversion on such occasions have taken place, and we may naturally presume, that a great many more may have occurred that have not come to notice. But, even where conversion does not follow, there may be a great deal of good done in such places, and on such occasions, in preparing the minds of the people for the future reception of the gospel, by what they hear in explanation of Christian doctrines and moral principles, and in refutation of the grosser absurdities of polytheism and idolatry. The books, also, which all classes so very readily receive, and carry home with them, are, gradually, but surely, spreading the knowledge of the way of salvation, and of a purer system of morals, over many a secluded district of this densely-peopled country, where no missionary has ever yet actually penetrated, or is likely soon to reach.

We are now, however, in the Gunga, or at least in one of the numerous branches by which it reaches the sea; for this great river, on entering the province of Bengal, divides itself into many separate streams, and enters the sea, not as one, but as a multitude of rivers—an emblem,

according to Hinduism, of the deity, who is many, but yet essentially one. Most of Bengal is formed of mere stripes of fine alluvial land between the different branches or outlets of this noble river, and is thus intersected by the numerous channels by which the Gunga flows into the sea, so that, in almost every place, it is possessed of abundance of water carriage, and plentifully supplied with great varieties of fish. The tide runs up all these branches of the river to a great distance. The Hughli, the branch on which Calcutta stands, is the most westerly; while the largest, or main branch, is the most easterly, and, flowing by the city of Dhaka, unites with the main stream of the Bramhaputra before it enters the Bay of Bengal. The mouths of the Gunga, therefore, including the Bramhaputra—or, as it is called below its confluence, the Megna—indent the whole coast for about two hundred miles. The lower parts of Bengal are usually called the Sunderbans; a name derived from a tree of the name of Sunder, found in these parts, and the Sanscrit word, Bana—a forest. The whole district, as we have already noticed, consists of narrow stripes of land, formed by the deposite of the river, that run out towards the sea in points which terminate in sand banks, still in the course of formation, and probably destined, before long, to be covered, in their turn, by mud, and afterwards by a rank vegetation. The greater part of the Sunderbans is yet uncultivated, but very far from being untenanted.

Crocodiles, such as abound in the Nile, as well as the more common species of alligators, are here to be met with in great numbers, and also tigers and rhinoceroses, huge boa constrictors and other monsters, with various kinds of formidable wild animals, not usually found near the haunts of men. Myriads of waterfowl of almost every kind, usually to be met with in such places, from the gigantic adjutant crane, down to the smallest species of waders, that prey on the more minute insect tribes, luxuriate in this hotbed of nature. Creeping and flying insects make every spot seem instinct with life, both night and day, changing watches according to their natures, so as always to be present to torment.

The buzzing of the torturing musquitoes keeps one awake through

the night only to feel and to count their bites, while the glimmering light of the fireflies would seem almost to show them where to find their victims. The howling of jackals and the snarling of parriar dogs, as they fight for their shares of the carrion that has floated ashore during the day, (perhaps the mortal remains of a human being, cast into the river by his friends), are occasionally interrupted by the angry growl of the royal Bengal tiger, of which this is the native land and acknowledged domain.

Almost every sort of life seems to thrive save that of man, whose proper developement and healthy existence seem to require a drier and less impregnated atmosphere, than these low dense jungles, and steaming damp mud banks, can yet afford. But man, the highest order of being on earth, will soon have his turn. This territory is rapidly being prepared for his reception and sustenance, and will soon be claimed by him, and covered with luxuriant fields and a teeming population.

Though already a good deal of progress has been made, the general unhealthiness of most parts of this moist region has greatly retarded its cultivation, and the native settlers are reported to have suffered much, not merely from occasional inundations, but also from wild beasts, by whose inroads they often lose their cattle, and sometimes even their own lives. The Bengal tiger, the most formidable beast of prey in the world, is a native of the Sunderbans, and though now almost extirpated from most other parts of India, by the eminent skill and persevering zeal of English sportsmen, who are passionately fond of tiger hunting, he seems likely here to keep his ground for some time to come. There is much of the jungle, as yet, quite inaccessible, and prey for these ferocious animals is still in such places so plentiful, that they can easily live and breed far beyond all human reach. But as cultivation advances, the haunts of the tigers will become hemmed in on all sides, and their destruction certain. As the whole country, with little exception, is admirably adapted for the culture of rice, sugar cane, &c. it is sure to be everywhere peopled, in spite of all obstacles, at no distant period, especially as its produce is not far from an open market and has

every natural advantage of carriage, both by sea, and inland navigation.

In coming off a long voyage and entering a large river like the Hughli, one is very much disposed to be pleased with every thing he sees, if it is only green. Land of any kind is a pleasing change to the eye, that perhaps has rested on nothing, for months, but the wide expanse of waters. An air of cheerfulness is, therefore, spread over the countenances of all, whether landsmen or seamen, as they look round on the shores on either side. Even the hard, weather beaten features of the old boatswain exhibit a sort of grinning smile as he whistles with unusual animation, and shouts—"All hands up anchor," for the last time on the voyage. We are now at Diamond harbour, and expect to reach Calcutta with the tide, which is just turning in our favour, and the help of a steamer which is taking us in tow. Here those who have been in India before, or who have friends expecting them, receive letters brought off by the Post office boat, from Kedgeree. Friends, glad to welcome friends in this strange land, send off letters of congratulation, addressed to the ship by which they are expected, or notes of invitation to partake of their hospitality. There are many, however, and they are often the young, who most need assistance and advice, who have no one to care for them, now that they are about to enter on a new world, and, perhaps for the first time, on the real responsibilities of life. Some are pensive and others are gay and thoughtless, and they are variously affected by the scene around them, according to previous associations, and their present states of mind. As they pace the deck and look around they give expression to emotions, some of one kind, some of another. A young Scotch officer, from Argyleshire—"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood—Land of the mountain and the flood," looking pensively round, murmurs "what a miserably dull place, the monotony of this is enough to make one hang himself;" while a young lady, not quite out of her teens and fresh from a boarding school, is quite delighted with the scene, and exclaims, "How beautiful—how pretty those bamboos and cocoa nut trees—how lovely those light green trees covered with yellow

flowers, and see there is a large flock of fine sheep, they seem much bigger than English sheep." "Where?" says an old Indian,—"see there, on the bank." "Why, Miss Griffin, those are cows, not sheep." A herd of Bengali cows is very often indeed taken, by new comers, for a flock of sheep. This is not much to be wondered at, when they are at some distance, as they are not much larger than the small Shetland species, and are generally of a whitish colour. Old Dr. Carey of Scrampur, it is said, was once walking with a friend fresh from England, who, seeing a cow at a little distance, asked what animal it was. The doctor quietly remarked,—"It is what they call a cow in this country."

The natives—mostly fishermen, who first come round a ship on entering the Hughli, differ considerably from the same classes at Madras. In point of physical appearance they are in general much superior to the Madras boatmen, being both taller and better formed, and having more regular features. Their complexion is also fairer, though very much darker than that of the majority of the other natives of Bengal. They are, perhaps, however, not in reality more hardy and laborious than the same classes about Madras; but they are of larger mould, more smooth in the skin, and from outward appearance, would seem to be better fed and to work less, which I suspect is really the case, though the mode of life of such men, here, as elsewhere in India, is very simple and economical. In power of lungs, for never ceasing noise and clamour, they may be regarded as a fair match for those of Madras. In this respect it would, however, be impossible for the one party to excel the other, as both have reached perfection. The constant shout of "Chup raho! chup raho!—Be silent! be silent!" is enough to produce deafness in any ordinary set of ears; to say nothing of the stunning clamour of never tiring voices by which it is called forth. It is, however, as unavailing as if it were addressed to a south-wester off the Cape of Good Hope. Even blows administered, sometimes with no sparing hand, to their backs, make no impression whatever on their tongues. It seems to be morally impossible for them to be even one moment quiet, unless

when they are asleep. Whether engaged in cooking or eating their food, resting on their oars, or rowing their boats, they continue, with never-tiring energy, scolding, shouting, singing, laughing, wrangling, in every possible way, with every possible kind of gesticulation, but their powers of lungs seem never to fail them. As to honesty, they do not, in general, seem to make any pretensions whatever, and exhibit no symptoms of shame when detected pilfering. One of them showed me a specimen of quiet coolness, in stealing an article from me before my eyes. I had been bathing, and had laid down my towel to dry in the window of my cabin, and was sitting near it inside, looking out; when one of these men, having climbed up the side of the ship from his boat, popped his head in at the window, and looking me in the face with the greatest composure of countenance, took hold of the towel close to me, and at once decamped. He was quite aware, that before I could get at him, I must run on deck, and by that time he could easily be out of reach, and undistinguishable among the others who were in the boats; but still, that power of face, which enabled him to look me full in the countenance when he was grasping my property, within a yard or two of me, and then to retreat so cooly, must have been acquired by no little practice.

From the entrance of the river Hughli, to the city of Calcutta, the distance may be about seventy miles. The scenery greatly improves, as we ascend, though it is every where flat, and consequently destitute of variety. It is quite of a tropical character, and though it changes a little here and there, the general aspect has so much of sameness, that it soon loses its interest, though any part of it is beautiful, if it were seen but once, and were not so very like every other part. The river itself, however, is very interesting, both as a natural object, and from the busy scenes of commerce, and active industry, which it presents. Many of the finest ships are under sail, both outward and inward bound, carrying flags of almost every civilized commercial nation, European, or Asiatic, as well as some bearing the stars of liberty, and the stripes of slavery—the unintentionally appropriate emblem of the North

American United States; in addition to all of which, hundreds on hundreds of native vessels, both for the coasting and river trade, show the extent and importance of the commerce carried on by the metropolis of British India. Flags never seen in the ports of Europe or America, such as those borne by the Arabs of the Red Sea, and the Pesian Gulph, the Chinese, Burmese, and Maldive Islanders, as well as by many other nations of the east, almost unheard of in England, here wave in full security, under the protection of the British Union Jack. But what protects it and all this great commerce amidst these millions of heathens?—The prestige of a name! The whole province of Bengal proper, with its thirty-six millions of inhabitants, has not, apart from its ordinary police, five armed vessels, nor ten thousand armed men, and yet this vast native population, and all the nations allured to it by its valuable commerce, are ruled by a civil government, consisting of a few individuals from England, Scotland, and Ireland, scarcely ever having the least occasion for the interposition of coersive, or military power. But a truce to speculation. We are now within a few miles of Calcutta, the metropolis of that wonderful and extensive empire, which, in the overruling wisdom of Providence, Britain has been enabled to raise during the last hundred years, and which she is too apt to look on merely as a splendid monument of the persevering genius of her statesmen, and the indomitable valour of her armies. On approaching near to Calcutta, the banks of the river, on both sides, become increasingly interesting, from the great number of handsome houses and gardens, belonging to the higher classes, both of Europeans and natives. The commencement of Calcutta may be said to be Garden Reach, taking its name, I suppose, from the botanical gardens situated on the opposite bank. Here there are many very fine residences, having generally beautiful gardens attached, some of them of large extent. These houses, or, as some of them may be called, palaces, have generally fine lawns in front, reaching down to the river, so that their owners or occupants, may keep boats of their own, which many of them do, either for business or pleasure. On the other side of the river, here about

the width of the Thames, a little above Gravesend, are the Botanical gardens, of considerable extent, and the Bishop's college, founded by Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, and intended for the education of Anglo-Indian clergy. It has always been of rather high church character, and, if judged by the men it has sent out, of rather a low intellectual one. The lower in this respect, however, the better for the cause of truth, as the system of religion taught in it, is usually understood now to be what has been not inaptly designated—" Popery, with its face half washed."

Many very handsome edifices are to be seen along the banks of the river; so that in defiance of the general flatness of the whole panorama, it has a striking appearance. The most defective point in the whole scene, however, cannot easily be kept out of mind by a person accustomed to countries of a more varied aspect. All that is seen is a mere margin. There are no vistas of any kind, giving a peep here and there into the country, and for the want of this, the stranger can be consoled by the assurance, from those who know it, that there is nothing in the country worth peeping at, or, at least, of which he may not see a fac-simile any where else in Bengal. There are no elevations, except those made by man. You may look at, and count the houses, the gardens, and the trees, standing on the banks of the river, and admire them as much as you please; but there is no landscape. It is a place admirably adapted for near sighted people. To one who has never been accustomed to look at any thing farther off than half a mile, and who can see but dimly even at that distance, there are few places that can present a more interesting scene than Calcutta, about Garden Reach. But if one has good eyes, and has been accustomed to ascend hills, and look on the widely extended and varied objects of nature on a large scale, and therefore feels a strong desire to see farther than that row of fine gardens, with large and elegant houses in the middle of them, he must restrain curiosity, and leave his imagnation to fill up the void. As long as he is in blessed ignorance of the country beyond these splendid abodes of Anglo Indian luxury, he may think of a large extent of park-like grounds,

beautiful green lawns, palaces, &c.; but the real fact is, that they merely occupy the immediate bank of the river, while the whole country behind them is a dull extent of fertile districts of rice fields, swamps, and useful, though uninteresting flats.

On passing Garden Reach, the city of Calcutta comes fully in view, with a noble forest of tall masts, covering the whole river from bank to bank, for several miles. The stream is here something like that of the Thames about Woolwich. The city of Calcutta stands on the eastern bank, while on the western, stands the large suburb of Hawrah. There are as yet, however, no bridges across, nor even a steam ferry, though one like that of Portsmouth harbour has long been spoken of. It is the habit of the people of Calcutta, to speak of any plan of improvement for a great many years, and then to wait for many more, till the government, or some wealthy patriot, carries it into effect.

Between Garden Reach and Calcutta, and on the same side of the river, there is another considerable suburb, called Kidderpur, where there are dockyards, &c., and a considerable population. It may be called the Blackwall of Calcutta, having much the same relative position, and answering much the same purposes, as Blackwall to London. Here, as well as at Hawrah, a great deal of shipbuilding is carried on, and a considerable number of the largest vessels, visiting the port, are usually anchored; while most of the smaller ships, as well as the coasters and the innumerable river craft, lie farthest up the stream, and more abreast of the city. On passing Kidderpur, we come to Fort William, and here we obtain the best view of what has been called—"the city of palaces;" and from this point especially, the city of Calcutta appears, indeed, a noble city. The public esplanade and open plain, of several miles' extent around the Fort, have a fine effect; and the public buildings and princely residences, by which the whole panorama is filled up, have a noble appearance, and altogether produce a high idea of the wealth and importance of the present metropolis of British India.

Fort William is on the bank of the river, so as to completely command it by its batteries, and thus protect the city from any at-

tempt that might be made against it, by any naval force. It was built at a time when our tenure of India was much less secure than it now is; and was most probably designed to be the last resort of our armies, if unable to keep the field against any overwhelming force. I believe it is regarded, by military men, as a formidable place of defence; but I have heard that, authorities of the same kind have considered it as too large, and that a garrison, fully adequate to its proper defence, might, under able management easily keep the field. Be this as it may, a shot in anger has never been fired against it, nor from it, and the only use of its batteries is to fire salutes when the governor general, or any other great man happens to set out on, or return from a journey. It is generally garrisoned by an European regiment of infantry, and several companies of artillery, who, both on their own account, and that of the dingy denisons of Calcutta, would be better any where else. To be cooped up in this hot climate, within so many scorching brick walls, instead of living in open cantonments, like the rest of the army, must be the very reverse of comfortable; nor is their conduct always such as to merit the very high regard of the inhabitants of the city. There are also, in general, several native infantry regiments here, whose health is naturally more adapted to the place, though even they, being natives of Hindustan and not of Bengal, suffer a good deal from the climate, especially during the hot and rainy seasons.

Between the fort and the principal ghat, or landing-place, there are no buildings. The latter consists of a fine flight of steps, and is called "Chandpal ghat," from having been first erected by a native of that name. A fine, broad carriage-way, shaded, in some places, by rows of trees, runs, for a considerable distance, along the bank of the river. This is called "the Strand," and is the principal place of resort for all the Magnates of Calcutta to take their morning or evening airings, either in carriages or on horseback. For this purpose it is exceedingly well adapted, as it has a fine view, on one side, across the large, open plain, of the best portion of the city, and, on the other, an interesting prospect of the river and its opposite banks,

and the whole of the shipping at anchor in the stream, and the numberless small vessels of every kind in motion on its surface. The whole plain beyond this is intersected both by carriage-roads and foot-paths, and, especially in the mornings and evenings, is covered with all sorts of conveyances, and almost every description of equestrian and pedestrian seekers of exercise and fresh air, the latter of which is often not easily obtained. As soon as the sun sets, and the cool of the evening begins, or is hoped soon to begin—though it sometimes does not begin at all—it would seem as if the entire population, from the lowest shopkeeper up to the Governor-General, (should he happen to be in Calcutta, which he seldom is now,) made a simultaneous rush into the open air. Every sort of conveyance is there, from the splendid carriages of the great, down to the creaking karanchies, or native cabs, of the Bengalee shopkeepers, with bamboo or rope springs, and every kind of horse, from the splendid Arab and stately Turki, down to the lowest class of native ponies, whose knees incessantly knock against each other, and whose four limping feet seem all going in contrary directions. Scores of saises, or grooms, are running along, at full speed, by their masters' carriages, shouting with all their might, "Hat jao! hat jao!"—get aside! get aside! and giving other similar warnings to all who are in, or not in, their way. The occupants of the carriages, as well as those in palanquins, on horseback, or on foot, are of almost every nation under the sun—English, Scotch, and Irish; Dutch, Germans, French, Americans, Portuguese, with every shade of admixture between these and the natives; Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Jews, Afghans, Chinese, Malays; with Hindostanees and Bengalees—the proper natives of the country, of all the different castes and sects, both Hindoo and Mussulman, swell this heterogeneous assemblage. Their costumes are as various as their colours, features, and languages. Every conceivable form of dress would seem to be here, or, at least, almost every form yet invented or made by tailor, milliner, or amateur artist, since Adam's first suit was made; and, perhaps, even the exact pattern of that, is here to be seen. Notwithstanding all this diversity, there seems to be a wonderful degree of familiarity

between the parties, so evidently remote from each other in origin, language, castes, and habits. There, in the same carriage, rides an European gentleman, dressed in the last Parisian fashion, with a fat, sleek Bengalee Baboo, who has neither hat, turban, coat, vest, trousers, shirt, nor clothing of any kind, save a piece of common cotton cloth, of some yards in length, passed round his loins, and reaching half-way down his thighs; but yet that nearly naked man seems perfectly at his ease in that fine carriage, and familiarly and politely salutes the most respectable of those whom he passes, and appears to converse freely with his highly-dressed European companion.—What is he? and what is the connexion between two men, in external appearance, so very different from each other?—That man, whose garment now worn, is not worth three shillings, is, notwithstanding the meanness of his appearance, a great native capitalist, and is extensively engaged in trade. Those horses, and that handsome English-built carriage, are his; and the well-dressed European gentleman is the managing partner of a large commercial house, the whole capital of which actually belongs to that Bengalee with the one piece of cheap cloth for his whole dress. But, do you ask, Is he a miser that he does not wear better and more decent clothing?—No; he is not. If he were that, he would not have that carriage, these fine horses, and these grooms. If you go to his house, you will find it is a large and handsome building, in the Anglo-Indian style, well furnished, and swarming with servants, and even the abode of princely hospitality. This scanty dress and shabby appearance are quite voluntary, as may easily be guessed from his sleek, well-fed, rotundity of person. Habit, with him, is everything, and he has not been accustomed to wear many clothes, and, in this hot climate, is more at his ease and comfortable without them. At home, he may have plenty of fine clothes, and a great deal of very costly jewellery, but he uses these only on great family occasions and public festivals, when sometimes he will dress like a prince; or they may be kept merely for the pride of having them, and showing them sometimes to friends or guests, though he scarcely ever puts them on. This is a singular peculiarity of many of the

greatest, and most wealthy men in India. Though they may dress very highly on some great occasions, and, especially, appear almost covered over with jewellery, they will often be content to appear in public in the same dress as that of a common labourer, whose whole income is less than a sixpence a-day. I have, on several occasions, been received by native Rajas, who, though they had more than a hundred servants in attendance, most of them well dressed, had not themselves on so much as ten shillings worth of clothing. Generally, however, while their clothes are of the lowest value, they will have on some diamond rings, or a gold necklace, or other ornament, richly set with precious stones, sometimes worth many thousands of rupees.

Fronting the plain, stand the Government House, the Supreme Court, and most of the principal public offices. The first of these is a palace of considerable extent, and a great ornament to the city, though its architecture has not escaped criticism. It was built by the Marquis of Wellesley, when Governor-General, who got small thanks from his masters in Leadenhall Street, who grumbled much at its expense, as interfering with the amount of their dividends. It is the court, or place of fashionable resort, for the people of Calcutta and visitors from all parts, none being considered as quite in society, who have not been introduced at Government House, or invited to parties often held there. An introduction here is not, however, remarkably difficult to obtain; and the Calcutta aristocracy has a basis perhaps sufficiently broad, if an exclusive privilege is to be retained at all. When the Governor-General is here, he holds levees, at which he receives both Europeans and natives of rank, and in his absence they are held by the Governor of Bengal, or the President of the Council. Though the natives are not excluded from the levee held principally for Europeans, there is another held, more especially for them, in the oriental fashion, called the Durbar. The Governor-General is now rarely in Calcutta, or in any part of Bengal, as the more difficult civil, military, and political interests of the very extensive north-western provinces, require more of the presence and attention of the supreme head of the empire. He,

therefore, very often spends the hot season at Simla, on the lower range of the Hamalaya mountains, and most of the cooler months in visiting the most important places, especially near the north-western frontier. The supreme civil power in India has, therefore, become somewhat like that of the Bishop—of an itinerant character, and is probably, on this account, more efficient than if always fixed in one place. It, at all events, enables the Governor-General, in some measure, to see personally what the country is, and better to learn its wants, than he could do, were he to sit stationary in his palace in Calcutta. The Governor of Bengal, whose authority extends only over the lower provinces, or the President in Council, conducts the local government during the absence of the Governor-General, and resides either at the Government House, in Calcutta, or in the country one, at Barrakpur, which bears to the former much the same relation as Windsor Castle does to Buckingham Palace.

At some distance on the plain, in front of the Government House, there is a high monument to the memory of Sir David Ochterlony, in the style of the monument of London. From the top of this, one of the best views of Calcutta is obtained, and also from the Fort, from which is seen to great advantage, what is called "Chaurangi Road," on the other side of the plain, along which the residences of many of the principal Europeans are situated. These houses are, most of them, fine spacious and airy buildings, and have a very pleasant prospect of the open plain, with the shipping and the Fort in the back ground. In this district of the city, which consists of many streets running off from the Chaurangi Road, a great part of the European population is to be found. The more prosperous classes occupy the principal streets, most of them opening at one end towards the plain, and the other running towards what is called the "Circular Road," from its encircling what once were the limits of Calcutta. A ditch once bounded the city, which, from its being first made to keep off an attack of the Mahratta army, was called the "Mahratta Ditch," and from which the denisons of Calcutta are generally styled in India, "the Mahratta ditchers." The new cathedral, in the erection of which, Bishop Wilson has been labouring

with so much zeal for some years, is near the Chaurangi Road, and when finished, will form a conspicuous object, as viewed across the plain from the river, or Fort William.

The portion of Calcutta which is most occupied by European commercial establishments, is that situated behind the Government House, and the other principal public buildings. This may be called the centre of Calcutta, as far as the Europeans are concerned; but the native city continues to stretch along the river side, for several miles farther up. It gradually contracts in breadth, till it ends in scattered residences of a suburban character, and villages, extending to a great distance, and succeeding each other so closely, that, to one going up the river, it is somewhat difficult to say where Calcutta terminates, and the country begins.

This great city has risen from a mere village, during the last century. It owes its origin and existence solely to the English Government and commerce; and unless the seat of government should be removed, and the commerce find a more convenient channel—events not at all improbable—it may continue still rapidly to increase in wealth and population, till it rival the greatest cities in the world. Even now it population is estimated at more than four hundred and fifty thousand, while the country on every side, and especially along the banks of the river, is almost covered with populous towns, and villages, often so closely joined, as scarcely to be distinguished from each other. It has been supposed by men whose opinion is likely to be well founded, that within a circuit of some twenty miles around Calcutta, there can be little less than three millions of people. Whatever may be the actual amount of the population, there can be little doubt of its being immense, and still rapidly on the increase, while the wealth of the community, notwithstanding of no little poverty among the lower orders, is still greatly advancing.

CHAPTER III.

CALCUTTA CONTINUED.—OBSERVATIONS ON EUROPEAN AND NATIVE SOCIETY, &C.—MISSIONARY AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

It is not my intention to give any thing like a particular description of Calcutta, either as it respects its people, or its various institutions. My own acquaintance with it is too limited to qualify me for such a task, nor is it necessary, as Calcutta has been often described, and, from being the grand resort of Europeans of every class, is better known than any other place in India. So much indeed is this the case, that it stands usually in the minds of most people as the type, or representative, of India in general, and causes a great deal of misconception respecting the country and its people; for of all places in India, Calcutta is the *least Indian*. Most of its inhabitants are, it is true, purely native, but there is so great a mixture of every thing foreign, in one shape or other, as to make it quite unlike any other place in India. There is nothing to be seen, indeed, that seems purely European, but then, on the other hand, there is as little that is purely native, and a person who has seen only Calcutta, can very rarely distinguish between what is foreign and what is indigenous, in the manners and customs even of the real natives. The residents even of pure decent, imitate the Europeans in so many things, either important or trifling, that neither their habits nor sentiments, are entirely Indian, while the English of every class, who are at all permanently settled, have involuntarily adopted so much of Indian customs and modes of life, that they have become much more Indianized than they are aware.

In landing from a ship, at Calcutta, one has to employ a sort of wherry, called a Dinghi. It is rather flat or round in the bottom, and tapers towards the bows, but is wider near the stern. It has a

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sort of shed, into which one may creep for shelter from the heat of the sun, composed of bamboos and matting, something like the little huts used by the gypsies. It is generally rowed by two very rascally looking fellows—either Hindoos or Mussulmans, who speak a dialect as unintelligible to all but themselves, as that of the builders of Babel, or the unknown tongues of Edward Irving. It is neither Bengalee, Hindostani, nor, as far as I have heard, any other language, used in India, but a sort of jargon peculiar to themselves.

When one reaches the shore, a great many sets of palanquin bearers, with their vehicles on their shoulders, are waiting to see if they may be required. Six or seven sets of them rush up to the knees into the water to meet the boat, each set praising their own, and abusing their neighbours' palanquins. He wants to get into one to keep his feet from being wetted in the mud, but it is sometimes no easy task. There they are, abusing each other, and furiously wrangling and struggling, every one determined to have the passenger, and if he cannot speak a word of Bengalee or Hindostani, he scarcely knows what to do. But if he is accustomed to them and can speak the language, he jumps into the first palanquin he can reach, and quietly tells the bearers where to take him, and all trouble is at once at an end. The clamour ceases, and the mob disperses in an instant, or all run away to some one in another boat, while the set employed quietly trot off with their passenger to whatever place they may be directed to go to. If one is ignorant of the language, and can give but imperfect directions, it is sometimes no easy matter to get to his destination. They will often seem as if they understood perfectly where they are ordered to go, and yet take the very contrary direction, unless the person conveyed knows the way himself, and stops them in time.

As with the boatmen, so with the palanquin bearers. Even a person familiar with India, and the ordinary languages of the provinces, is often at a loss in Calcutta. Most of them, I believe, are natives of Urissa and other districts on the coast, and therefore speak languages, or dialects, almost entirely different from those used in towns. Living for the most part by themselves, in small

clubs, or confederacies of individuals from the same district, they probably converse but little with the other natives, resident in the place, and thus retain the peculiarities of their language and manners, while it is most likely, that, many of them remain here for too short a time to enable them to pick up the more current languages of the city.

As Calcutta is the capital of the province of Bengal, the principal language spoken here is, of course, the Bengali. A rude jargon of corrupt Hindustani is also much in use in the Bazar, but not in the ordinary intercourse of the resident population. It is barely intelligible, however, to a real native of upper India, whose tones and accents are as easily distinguished on the streets of Calcutta, as those of a Londoner in the streets of Aberdeen. The Bengalee is a language of considerable compass and power of expression, and is generally admitted, in some respects, to be superior to the Hindustani, or, as it is more properly called, the Urdu. The latter, however, has the immense advantage of being, with some variations, the lingua franca, or general medium of intercourse, not only of all north-western India, from Assam to the Indus, and from the Hamalaya mountains to the Dekhan, but is in some measure used even as far as the island of Ceylon, while it is the language of commerce and navigation, both on the eastern and western coasts. It is also the connecting link between the languages of India and those of Affghanistan and Persia, and even of Arabia and Turkey, and is in fact the only spoken language in India, that is not provincial. It might be too much to say, that it is destined to displace, or absorb the other languages now spoken in the north of India. Its literature is yet too limited, and its proper style is too unfixed, to give any expectation of an early ascendancy; but its literature is now daily increasing, and its style is fast becoming more conformed to a settled standard of taste, than it has ever yet been.

The infusion into it of Christian truth, now rapidly going on, as well as of a more varied knowledge of every description, must necessarily, though it may be slowly, expand this most important language, and render it more plastic, by giving it new forms of ex-

pression, and new powers of combination and variety of diction of every kind, which its former meagre literature did not require, and therefore, failed to render classical. The language of a people can never advance in actual use, further than their knowledge of things, whatever may be the amount of the philological materials latent in itself, or in the sources from which its vocables are derived. Men cannot have words, or forms of speech, to give utterance to thoughts, or ideas, unknown to them. A sentiment, or feeling, must first have its existence in the minds of the people, before it can have a symbol, either in spoken or written language; but when, perhaps at first, by circumlocutions, or definitions of various kinds, new thoughts have been distinctly conveyed to their understandings, and have become part of their stock of sentiments or opinions; they at once construct from existing elements of speech, long familiar to them, suitable vocables, generally of easy comprehension, to communicate to others whatever is interesting to themselves; or they very easily adopt from cognate, or locally proximate, languages, any word that may be found absolutely necessary for their purpose. This latter advantage is possessed in an especial manner by the Urdu, which, though based on the original Hindui and Sanscrit, is itself a composite language; drawing most of its vocables from the Persian and Arabic, and admitting, occasionally, even of English words, the incorporation of which, with its indigenous materials, is likely to be greater in future than it has yet been, in consequence of the accelerated progress of English science and literature. The Urdu has, therefore, as it gradually absorbs the Hindui, or supersedes it, in the provinces where they are both spoken, every prospect of becoming, at no distant period, peculiarly adapted to answer all the purposes required in the language of a great civilized people; and should the Anglo-Indian empire long endure in a consolidated form, almost every other language in northern and western India, is likely to sink gradually to the class of more vulgar or rustic dialects. The Bengalee, indeed, would seem more likely to retain its hold, than any other of the provinchial languages in the north of India. It has been more cultivated than the rest, and has

much more refinement and a more extensive literature. But it makes no progress to the westward, but on the contrary is constantly receding, great inroads being made upon it, both by the Hindustani and the Hindui, which, being both essentially one, are too strong on the borders of Bengal to be long resisted with success, especially when one of them has a partial hold of all the principal cities even in the interior of Bengal proper. On the other hand, the great and increasing demand for English, among the upper and middle classes of natives, in the cities of Bengal, especially in the parts contiguous to Calcutta, withdraws the attention of educated men from the culivation of literature in their native tongue, and thus retards its developement as a classical language, though it may not prevent it entirely, and may even ultimately promote it.

Most of the houses inhabited by the better classes of Europeans, in Calcutta, are spacious buildings, with large and lofty rooms, rendered very desirable by a climate, where a great deal of ventilation is so essentially necessary to health. The houses are, for the most part, surrounded by rather high walls, by which they are separated from each other, and have a gate to the street, or road, with a Darwan, or porter, to open or shut it when any one calls. Within the enclosure, or as it is called, compound, there is a kitchen, separate from the house, as cooking would be a great nuisance if carried on within the house itself. There are also some small houses for the servants, and also stables, coach house, &c., within the walls. Many of the servants, however, do not live at their master's houses, but go home to their own more humble dwellings to their meals, during the day, and also to lodge at night. They are paid monthly wages, but get no food, being allowed to go home for several hours each day. This is the case in India generally, only that in the interior, most of the servants live in their master's compound, where, though he does not provide them with food, he gives them small houses, in which they and their wives and children live. Female servants are never employed in India, unless to take care of mere infant children, or to wait on ladies as tirewomen, &c. Even children are kept, and the cooking done, by

men servants. Even ladies clothing is made, not by women, but by male tailors. Mantua maker and tailor are, in India, one business; and the gentleman's coat, and lady's gown, are made by the same useful functionary, who is usually kept as a household servant, and sometimes, in addition to making and mending garments, he acts as dry nurse to the children, or, as they are called, baba log, (baby people,) especially in families, where many servants cannot be afforded. A person of any consequence in India, has, usually, a considerable number of men servants of various kinds, so that his compound constitutes a sort of village, or small municipality, of which he is chief authority, and lord paramount. The sáhib, or master, is therefore always a sort of magistrate in his own petty domain, and few in it are bold enough to question his authority, or the extent of his prerogatives. It is not always, however, quite an easy task to rule his subjects. Quarrels and rebellions sometimes take place, beyond his ability to settle, and he is under the necessity of calling for the interposition of the more formidable civil power of the regularly appointed magistrate, of which his dependants stand in the utmost awe. Such is not often, however, the case, as by those who are well acquainted with their habits, the people of India are generally not difficult to manage, if they are sufficiently firmly dealt with.

With regard to European society, in Calcutta, in general, it is of a very mixed and fluctuating character, being composed, to a large extent, of persons who come here for commercial purposes, and have no permanent interest in the country. There is a strong tendency to gaiety and extravagance among them, even when these can be but ill afforded. The character of the city, generally, is marked by a considerable amount of dissipation, though, in this respect, it is very greatly improved, from what it was many years ago; and, it is to be hoped, it is still farther improving. One of the worst features, hitherto, of the European society of Calcutta, is its regardlessness of the best interests of the natives. There are many of the European community, however, to whom this remark can in no possible respect be applied, as there are among them the

most distinguished and devoted friends of the natives, and men whose efforts for their improvement it would be utterly impossible to overrate. But still it is a fact, that the greater part of the English, and other Europeans in Calcutta, evince no regard whatever to the real interest of the natives, either spiritual or temporal, provided they can accomplish their own worldly objects, and leave the country with the least possible delay. Hence they are never at the trouble to inform themselves about either the country or its people, and are, therefore, no judges of its affairs, unless any thing in them should affect their own interests. The measures of the government, are, by such, objects of praise, or of censure, merely as they may happen to affect the interests of the small class to which they belong; and if their opinions take the form of kindness to the natives, it is generally only when the interests of both classes happen to be the same. It is well for the natives that this is now more generally the case, and that European and native prosperity, can now scarcely ever be separated by any amount of selfishness in either class. The Europeans engaged in commerce, are, to a large extent, the dependants of the natives, who are the real capitalists, while they are, for the most part, only agents in carrying on the commerce of the country, or partners, not originally possessed of either money, or credit of their own.

Many young men have gone out to India with most extravagant expectations of making fortunes. A great part of them have been ignorant of the fact, that most of the men who have made such fortunes, either in commerce, or in the public service, were only the few survivors out of a large number, who struggled long and hard without ever reaching their object. Comparatively few men are possessed of the persevering steadiness, absolutely necessary for being successful in almost any pursuit, requiring talent and energy, in India, where every influence of climate and circumstances is against them. Hence it is that so many die, or retire in the prime of life; leaving the field of promotion, or of success, both in the Government services and in the commercial world, completely open in all its grades and advantages of either station or gain, to the very

small number of men whose health and habits, both of body and mind, enable them to continue long in the country, and indefatigably at work. This is necessarily the case in the Government services, both civil and military, from the principle of seniority on which they are constructed, as all the highest and most lucrative offices are reserved for the more talented of the seniors of both services; while even the retiring allowances of the other seniors, apart from their savings, are equivalent to a moderate fortune. In the mercantile community, it is also very much the same; unless where, as it sometimes happens, even at home, a man may succeed in realizing a great deal by some large, prudent, or accidentally successful adventure, and have the good sense to retire in time with his gains. As the capital is principally native, the Europeans of the commercial class are mostly intelligent men, of good business habits, whose knowledge of the principles of commerce, and their superior tact in the management of every enterprize requiring general information and skill, qualify them for conducting commercial affairs with an energy and success of which the natives, however shrewd in small matters, are quite incapable. Such men, if they remain long in the country, naturally acquire influence, and the command, directly or indirectly, of a large amount of capital. They, in time, become partners in great houses of business; and should their health enable them to remain long in the country, and they should meet with no great reverses, they now and then succeed in acquiring large fortunes. Still, however, the number of such successful men is small, indeed, compared to the number who toil in vain; and out of that small number the greater proportion only reach their independence after it is too late in life to enjoy it, either in India or on returning home, with their habits of life entirely altered, and their friends no more. A great many Europeans in India have been so unsuccessful that they cannot come home at all, as they are fully aware that they are not now fit for home pursuits, and have not the means for their future support in their native land. Some of these would be in great difficulty for the means of subsistence, were it not that there is in general, among Europeans in that country, a very laud-

able spirit, which often leads them to sustain each other in adversity, and sometimes, in a variety of ways, to uphold, even in a respectable position, individuals of their number who have been less successful in life than themselves. Hence, also, widows and orphans, in the Anglo-Indian community, are generally well taken care of, both in the Company's service and among mercantile men. Both the civil and military services of the East India Company have funds for the respectable support of their widows and orphans, the security of which is guaranteed by the Government, by which also provision is made for the support and education of the orphans even of all common soldiers, while pensions also are given to their widows. Without such a general disposition to assist each other, especially to support each other's widows and orphan children, in a land so distant from relatives, the state of many Europeans in India, especially those with large families, would often be one of very great anxiety. Feeling themselves to be strangers in a strange land, far remote from their common country, they require to stand by each other, and though there may be many exceptions, they generally do so with a considerable degree of kindness and generosity, and few Europeans of good and well known respectable character, however unsuccessful in the world, are ever left in India to suffer any great want of the necessaries of life, whatever may be their rank in society.

There are in Calcutta seven churches belonging to the Church of England, six Roman catholic, two Presbyterian, viz. one of the established Church of Scotland, and one of the Scotch Free Church, two Independent and two Baptist churches. Besides these, in which the worship is, for the most part, if not entirely, conducted in English, there is a considerable number of Chapels belonging to the missions of different denominations, where the congregations are purely native, and the services are entirely in the native languages, the preachers being either European or native missionaries. The missionary body in Calcutta and its neighbourhood is now large; but to give any general view of its operations either in the city itself, or in the surrounding country, would take more time and space

than our limits permit. The Baptist and London Missionary societies, whose missionaries take the lead in the departments of preaching and general labour among the adult population, while those of the Church of Scotland, and Free Church do the same in the educational efforts that are now being so successfully made through the medium of the English language, are the largest bodies.

The Baptist and London Missionary societies have about twelve native churches, several of them in the city, but most of them in the villages some way from town, and especially in the districts to the south, where there are now some thousands of people professing the Christian faith.

The Church missionary society is not strong in Calcutta, having in general only two or three European ordained missionaries, and a few European teachers and native catechists. The mission of the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, has here a more extensive mission, especially in the vicinity of the Bishop's college, (which is connected with it,) and also in the districts to the south of Calcutta. The romanizing, or Puseyite tendency, however, of some, if not of the general body of its agents, greatly dissevers it from other communions, and makes it, in some respects, even antagonistic to protestant institutions in general; while the weakness of the more orthodox missions, belonging to the church missionary society, gives it too much the appearance of representing the church of England as a whole, at least in this part of the missionary field. The unscrupulous character of some of its agents, in the means which they are reported to employ, in order to bring the converts of other denominations under the authority of the church of England, or, rather, of the semi-Popish section of that church, have produced very bad consequences on the minds of the native Christians generally, and even of the heathen, by whom they are surrounded. Unless they are greatly belied, they have, through the medium of their native agents, employed, not only corruption and bribery, but even, at times, club law, to bring the poor and comparatively feeble professors of Christianity, connected with other missions, under their control, and priestly domination. By

such means, they have, in various instances, succeeded, to the no small disturbance of the infant churches, and to their own great disgrace, in sowing dissension. They have thus become the agents in most effectually preparing the way for the successful operations of their more consistent brethren of the church of Rome, by inculcating the same principles in a slightly modified form. The Roman Catholic missions have been greatly strengthened, during the last few years, by the accession of some able, intelligent, and well educated men, both in the higher offices of their church, and in its subordinate grades. New churches, schools, convents, &c., are being gradually raised, with persevering energy, while, with the exception of a few pious clergymen, labouring, for the most part, among the English inhabitants, the church of England has no adequate representation. Bishop Wilson opposes Puseyism with great zeal; but as far as the work among the natives is concerned, in and about Calcutta, his influence is much too limited. The agency at his command is but feeble, while his authority over many in his own church, as well as over Bishop's College, does not seem to be sufficient, notwithstanding his well known and published sentiments, to enable him effectually to resist their Romanizing tendencies. Many have thought, that his own partiality for ecclesiastical display, and his consequent tenderness towards those, whose fundamental errors led them to go much farther, in the same direction, than himself, rendered him somewhat inattentive to the beginnings of the evil, till, like other malignant diseases, it had made such progress, as to have become utterly incurable. The doctrinal errors of the party he had always most distinctly and emphatically denounced; but most of the liturgical errors, and high clerical assumptions, with which they are inseparably connected, and out of which they spring, do not seem to have been nipt in the bud, nor was any vigorous attempt made to erradicate them, till they had grown to sufficient rankness to shelter any practice, or doctrine of Popery, that might spring up under their shade. The church missionary society was not strong enough to affect any thing by itself, though its agents, I believe, without exception, in northern India, are men

of strictly evangelical principles, as well as of consistent Christian character. It is high time, however, that the church missionary society, as the organ of the evangelical part of the church of England, should take up its Calcutta mission with renewed and increased vigour. It cannot be pleasing to pious evangelical men, who are still a strong body in the church, to leave the missions of that church in danger of becoming mere auxilaries to those of the church of Rome; but no where are they more likely to be so than in the metropolis of British India, unless great care is taken. Eight or ten soundly evangelical, and thoroughly Protestant church of England missionaries, would have a most favourable influence, in supporting the church to which they belong, not by high and unsustained clerical assumptions, but by the exhibition of Christian doctrine and principle, such as must command the real respect of Chrstians who may differ from them on points of ecclesiastical polity, but who hold all the same essential truths of the gospel. It is no credit to the committee of the church missionary society, that its mission in a city of such importance, and where it has so many very exemplary and pious, as well as liberal lay members, should, at least, as far as European agency is concerned, be weaker than almost any other mission in the place. Whatever may be the opinion of the writer with respect to the Church of England as a whole, these remarks are made in the most friendly spirit towards that portion of it represented by the missionaries of the church society, with some of whom he has not only had much Christian intercourse, but has often been associated in evangelical labours for the cause of Christ in India; and, with respect to whose devoted zeal, he is always happy to bear testimony.

Calcutta being the greatest English settlement, and the principal emporium of British commerce, as well as the seat of government, where all the higher courts of justice, and other govermental establishments are to be found, the value there, in a worldy point of view, of the English language, and of European knowledge in general, to the higher and middle classes of natives, is very great, and they have, therefore, become objects of intense desire to all who

have the means of acquiring them. As the desire of English education, a number of years ago, gradually arose, schools of various kinds, as well as an institution, called the Hindoo College, supported, principally, by the government, were established, and the missionary bodies, likewise, taking advantage of the increasing demand, began to teach English, and through its medium, the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Large schools, conducted in English, though not to the entire exclusion of the native languages, have now existed for many years, in connexion with all the principal missions. The most extensive and successful institution of the kind, is that originally connected with the church of Scotland, and founded by Dr. Duff, and still most efficiently carried on by him and his able colleagues. Though it has met, at different times, with much opposition on the part of many of the natives, on occasions, especially, when some of its pupils have openly embraced Christianity, it has weathered every storm, and not only maintained its ground, but steadily advanced. Though attempts have been made by the natives to raise rival institutions, with the same educational advantages, none have succeeded. It contains, I believe, not less than a thousand pupils, many of whom are very far advanced, not only in literary and scientific knowledge, but in the evidences and doctrines of the Christian faith. A great many of the pupils have repudiated the ordinary Hindoo superstitions, while some have come out entirely from their castes, and openly, amidst much persecution and loss, professed themselves believers on Christ, by baptism.

On the disruption of the Church of Scotland, the whole of its missionaries, both in Calcutta and other parts of India, considered it their duty to join the Free Church. The feeling of opposition between the two parties, was, no doubt, too strong to admit of their going on any longer together, in the support and conduct of their missionary operations, otherwise, it does not seem, to a looker on, to have been absolutely necessary for them to carry the separation into India, as no radical change was made in their doctrine or discipline; and the question of the intrusion, or non-intrusion of mini-

sters, on congregations or parishes, did not practically affect their missions. The missionaries, however, on conscientiously taking the non-intrusion side of the question, had to leave the fine commodious college, which, with its library and its valuable apparatus, had been raised by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of Dr. Duff. Their pupils, however, left with them, leaving to the Church of Scotland only the empty building, and the material machinery for teaching, but carrying all that was really valuable with them. The building has since been occupied by the agents of the Church of Scotland, who have succeeded in collecting a number of pupils equal to what had previously attended, so that they have every prospect of success. The disruption, therefore, in the case of Calcutta, has only led to the furtherance of the cause of Christian education. The missionaries sent forth by the Church of Scotland, since the disruption, to take the place of Dr. Duff and his colleagues, are spoken of as very efficient and excellent men, though, of course, it will be some time before they can have the experience of their talented predecessors. It would have been more becoming, perhaps, in that Church, to have allowed the men, by whose laborious and talented efforts the institution had been raised, to retain the building as it stood, especially as the funds had been, for the most part, if not almost entirely, contributed by those who became members of the Free Church. The claim of the Church of Scotland might be legal enough, but it would have been more Christian like, and even more honourable to have waived it, or, at least, to have entered into some compromise. It is gratifying, however, to know, that the missionaries of the Free Church, and their supporters, have lost only that part of their labours, that had been spent on the material building, while the still more important structure of sound knowledge, religion, and morality, which it was their principal object to rear, and on which they have put forth so many zealous efforts, is still continuing to rise. They have already had some very interesting converts, and it is hoped, that in future they will continue to increase more and more rapidly, and that many of them may turn out to be qualified, both by sincere piety and talent, as

well as education, for proclaiming the gopsel of Christ, with much zeal and genuine success, to their fellow countrymen.

The London Missionary Society has a similar institution in another part of the town, on a smaller scale. From this also some interesting and respectable youths have recently been received into the Christian Church.* The Church, and Baptist Missionary Societies have likewise schools of the same nature, though none of them are so extensive as that of the Free Church, nor do they form in any case, as in that, the entire work of the missionaries. The Free Church mission, from being so exclusively devoted to education, and having no regular system of preaching in the native languages, may be said to act, for the most part, as an auxiliary to other societies, especially to the Church of England, into which some of its converts have already gone, and others are likely to go, in the absence of Christian native congregations in connexion with their own mission. It is highly desirable that the Free Church mission, should be so increased as to enable it to carry on more extended operations in preaching, as well as to go on with increasing energy in the educational department. While secular education is so much in demand, and in one shape or another, is being widely diffused, especially in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, it is most important that it should be, from the very outset, combined with the religion and moral principles of the Bible; but unless there are Christian churches, and public and regular ministrations, to retain, or acquire, a hold on the minds of adults, the religious knowledge and impressions received in boyhood, or early youth, are apt to be soon effaced by the cares of life, or the pleasures and temptations of heathen society. There are probably in and near Calcutta little fewer than 8000 native youths receiving instruction in European and other knowledge. These are certain, in after life, to exercise no small influence on native society in general. How important, therefore, that Christianity should be brought fully to bear on their minds, before they imbibe

* This institution has nearly 800 pupils and is about to be greatly extended, funds having been obtained for the erection of a suitable building, and for the purchase of scientific apparatus adapted to a regular collegiate course of instruction.

prejudices against it, in consequence of sinking down into indolence of mind and corruption of morals, by falling back on the licentious habits and associations connected with idolatrous customs; or, on the other hand, become vitiated in their principles, by sentiments, adopted from European infidelity, into which they are in so much danger of falling, when they escape from the foolish, and superstitious, traditional notions of their ancestors.

Already European infidelity, with its malignant hostility to Christianity, has made inroads among the natives, who, having been set loose by education from the trammels of superstition, so that the fictions of the Shasters of Hinduism, have given place to the fictions of materialism. Parties of young men are to be found, belonging to the more respectable classes of natives, sometimes called "Young India," or "Young Bengal," who have thrown off the ordinary restraints of Hinduism, such as attending to the usual rules of caste, and abstaining from beef, wine, &c. They have adopted the worst habits of Europeans, such as drinking brandy, wine and beer, without imitating any thing among them that is good. The transition from gross superstition to a purer system, is often attended with much danger to morals. One class of restraints gives way, and loses all hold on the mind, before another obtains possession of the heart, or becomes powerful from habit. However defective may be the moral restraints of Hinduism, the customs of society and of domestic life which it inculcates, interpose certain obstructions to the free and open indulgence of the passions and appetites. When these are removed without the substitution of religious and moral principles, of a higher order, they must leave the mind destitute of any power to resit evil, or any commanding motive to prefer what is morally good. Unless in the schools and colleges of the missionaries, religion is entirely left out, in the system of education pursued in India. The government education is neutral on the subject of religion, but as the teaching of European science must necessarily destroy the credit of both the Hindoo Shasters and the Koran of Mahammed, it is obvious that this neutrality can only be nominal. It is such neutrality as pulls a man's house about his ears, and leaves him to

build another, or to live in the open air, unless some one else should come to his assistance; or which sets fire to an unhealthy, or ill constructed town, in hopes that when the people shall be able, with or without, assistance to rebuild it, they are sure to erect a better. It is some consolation at least to think, that while the government system of education in India goes on the principle of the worthy Quaker, who, on being asked to give something to build a new Methodist chapel, replied,—"Friend, I cannot, consistently with my principles, give thee any thing to build a new chapel, but here is something to help in pulling down the old one;" the missionary bodies are under no such restraint, and the increase of knowledge in any shape must be favourable to the progress of the gospel, however much evil may flourish in the state of transition now commencing in India. A system morally worse, as a whole than Hinduism, it is difficult to conceive to be possible, and any thing that lessens its influence, or disenthrals the people from its bondage, though in itself not of the character that the missionary can approve, and in its effects falling infinitely short of the great spiritual result which is his highest object; may be hailed, nevertheless, as an agency working towards the production of a state of society, more favourable to the real progress of the gospel. There have been some instances, and I fear not a few, however, in which the teaching in government schools has not, as the professed principle of their institution enjoins, been quite neutral on the subject of religion, but more or less antagonistic to Christianity; or at least, all religions, including Christianity, have been treated as equally false. The government has enjoined religious neutrality in the teaching, but not in the personal profession of religion by the teacher. It does not require the teacher to say to his pupils in the class, that he does not believe in the divine authority of the Christian scriptures, nor to forbear from explaining them, or reading them to others out of the school; but it is generally an admitted fact, that instead of being quite neutral, some of the government teachers, labour diligently to keep their scholars from falling into the hands of the missionaries, and thus foster in the minds of their pupils the opinion, that all religions are

mere superstitions, against which, and especially Christianity, they are to be on their guard. They are quite afraid of them perusing Christian books, but very willing to help them to the works of Voltaire, Hume and others, whose bitter hatred of Christianity are almost their only recommendation, being inaccurate as historians and unsound as philosophers; while the most useful works on almost every subject, are kept as much out of view as possible, because written in a spirit favourable to Christianity. But do as they may, it is impossible to teach the history of the world without that of Christianity, unless on the plan of playing the tragedy of Hamlet, with the character of Hamlet left out; hence on this branch of learning, as well as in every thing else, save mere physical science, which is not education any more than plough making is agriculture, the missionary schools—such as Dr. Duff's and others of the same grade, are certain to take the precedence of the Hindoo College, and other government institutions, in everything deserving the name of a real education, calculated to form the character of the rising generation of natives in India. Even the people themselves are perfectly aware of this, and where other influences are not at work, prefer sending their children to the missionary schools, and were their agency and funds sufficient, these schools might, in most of the more important places, almost monopolize the education of the rising generation, to the exclusion of the government please-all, but please-none-system. Besides the government and the missionary schools, the natives have many of their own; but in general they do not succeed so well, nor are they so popular as the former.

Besides the Missionary Societies, and other institutions of a local nature, for religious purposes, there are also in Calcutta, Bible and Tract Societies. These, though called auxiliaries of the parent societies of the same name in London, are only nominally so, as their committees "do what seemeth good in their own eyes." The home societies assist them, by making grants of money, books, or paper, which they can, of course, withhold if they are dissatisfied with their operations, but they do not farther interfere, than by occasionally giving advice.

For some time, the British and Foreign Bible Society had an agent in India, to look after its interests; but the Rev. Dr. Haeberlin, who, for a time, held the office, has, I believe, retired from it, and, as far as I know, no one has succeeded him. Those book society committees in Calcutta have the general character of being clumsy, and ill-working machines, though, perhaps, in the peculiar state of society in that city, better could not be constructed out of the existing materials. No doubt, each member, very honestly and conscientiously, does what he thinks best for the cause; and the liberality manifested by most of them, in devoting to it as much time as possible, and a great deal of pecuniary aid, shows sufficiently the reality of the zeal which induces them to engage in the objects contemplated by these institutions. The utility of such large committees, is, however, very questionable, especially for objects involving literary discussions, with which most of their members are quite incompetent to deal. Their natural tendency is obstructive, and has ever been so, to the very work they are designed to promote. A great deal has been done by the Calcutta Bible Society, no doubt, in the circulation of the scriptures, but it is much to be questioned whether more might not have been done without it, had the missionary societies, by whose agents the versions have generally been made, retained them in their own hands, (as the Baptist body have done generally with theirs) and plentifully supplied them through the instrumentality of their own organizations. Bible Societies neither make the versions nor distribute them, but interpose themselves between the sympathies of the christian public and the real agents, as monopolizers of the funds, and controllers of work which they cannot do themselves. As a guarantee for the character of versions, such societies are worth nothing, as there are no translations in existence inferior to some which they have issued, and none more unsatisfactory than some for which they are entirely responsible, having completely overruled the translators by their own sub-committees.

Two-thirds of the members of these Bible and Tract committees are almost entirely ignorant of the nature and requirements of the

work to be done, though, personally, worthy Christian men, most anxious to do good. But all are never present at once, and the work is sometimes done by four or five, who may not have been at the former, and may not be at the next, meeting, at which any subject is discussed. They are, therefore, constantly undoing, and doing over again, the same work in some different way. Many of the members are gentlemen engaged in important and very laborious offices, and who, having scarcely any leisure, can give only the merest fragments of their time and attention, to the objects in view. Their opinions would, no doubt, deserve respect, were they not so often hastily formed on imperfect information, and expressed with little reflection; the hour given, now and then, in the midst of many other pursuits, to the meeting, being all they can spare to the consideration of the subjects to which it refers. Of all committees, those having to do, either with versions of the scriptures, or books of any kind, ought to be small, compact bodies, not of mere men of business, but of literary men, who have leisure for the work, and will give close attention to it, as an object of importance and responsibility. Even were some of them paid agents, it might be better, in an economical point of view, as it might prevent the issue of so many works of an incorrect character, as have hitherto been published, both by Bible and Tract Societies.

The principal defect in the working of these societies has, no doubt, arisen from the most laudable zeal for doing as much good as possible. Had those of Calcutta confined their attention to Bengal, they were well enough qualified for judging of the translations and books required, and were able to put into operation suitable means for giving them circulation; but, by attempting, like the Serampur missionaries and their successors, to prepare books for the various nations, and in the many languages spoken, in other parts of India, they are obliged, like them, to trust to the judgment of men professing, indeed, to know those languages, and who, generally, do know them in a certain way, but who, never themselves having been religious instructors, are utterly unacquainted, unless by mere sound, with the current language of religion and abstract sentiments,

and are utterly ignorant of the simple methods by which either moral or religious doctrines, may be made perfectly plain and intelligible, to the minds of the ordinary classes of native society. The Calcutta book committees have practically distrusted, in general, the missionaries of the interior, but have put the most implicit confidence in any civil or military officer, whose knowledge of the language mostly consisted in an acquaintance with Persian, and a technical jargon, formed between it and the vernacular, and used in the courts of law, &c.; while of the language of the main body of the people, and, more especially, that used most in religion, their knowledge was meagre in the extreme. The missionaries of the north-western provinces have, therefore, become dissatisfied, and desirous of acting in such matters by themselves, in conjunction with such friends as are more familiar with the spheres of their labour, and the requirements of the people of those provinces. It might be well for the Calcutta Bible and Tract Societies to confine their own direct operations to the districts of Bengal proper, where they have an ample field, forming, with the societies of the north-western provinces, merely a fraternal connexion, and making a mutual interchange of publications where needed, but leaving each society to act without any control from the other—free to communicate with the societies in England, and to obtain contributions, or other aid, as it may best be able. In this way, a great deal more work might be done, and in a more efficient manner, than formerly, and with much more comfort and satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

Anything like a Calcutta monoply in the funds derived from European and other sources, or in the direction of the operations, in general, of these societies, will always produce dissatisfaction among the missionaries and other friends of the cause in the provinces, as it has done before, even were these matters much better managed than they have yet been, or than it would be reasonable to expect in future, from the present construction of the committees; and it is desirable that the important common object, should be pursued in such away as to occasion the least possible discontent, and with the greatest possible harmony and mutual confidence.

CHAPTER IV.

JOURNEY FROM CALCUTTA TO THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.—MODES OF TRAVELLING BY LAND.—NATURE OF THE COUNTRY.—ROUTE BY THE RIVER.—BOATS AND BOATMEN OF THE GANGES, &c., &c.

In proceeding from Calcutta to the north-western provinces of India, there are several modes of travelling. No railway has yet been made, nor has any other speedy form of conveyance been introduced. A railway to Mirzapur and Benares has been projected, which is intended, ultimately, to go as far as Agra and Dilhi, having branches to other important places in upper India. It will take, however, some time to carry this important enterprize into effect, but when such a railway has once been brought into operation, it must, of necessity, give a mighty impulse to every kind of improvement, and lead to the development of the vast resources of this great country, to an extent not generally hitherto imagined to be within the bounds of possibility, for who can tell what may be the amount of mineral wealth, or the extent and variety of agricultural productions, that may be brought into the market, when once rapid and economical means of transit, shall become available, in a country where it has hitherto been so slow and difficult? The carriage of goods, to any considerable distance, has always, besides the great delay, been so very expensive, as greatly to prevent the profitable interchange of commodities, whether of native, or of foreign production, especially of those of a bulky nature. The same causes have greatly prevented that free intercourse between the people of different districts, which, in all countries is so essential to social improvement, and the extension of general knowledge.

Though many attempts have been made to facilitate intercourse in India, the usual modes of travelling, as yet, are neither cheap nor rapid. Favourable changes are now in prospect, and some slight

improvement has already taken place. By the most direct route, the distance from Calcutta to Benares, is about 426 miles. A good road has been made by the government, on which no tolls are paid. There are, however, no coaches, or public conveyances of any kind, and no Inns, as in Europe, for the entertainment of travellers. Small mail carts have now been introduced; but till lately the mails were carried by men, who ran at the rate of from five to six miles an hour, with the letter bags on their shoulders, each man running a stage of about seven or eight miles. The mail carts now used on this, and a few other roads, take no passengers, but go at rather a rapid pace, carrying merely the letters and papers for the different stations, or towns, on the line of road. As yet, the quickest conveyance for passengers, is the palanquin dâkh, a mode of travelling post by a palanquin. The traveller provides his own palanquin, and obtains relays of bearers, at each stage of his journey, from the post office. He has to pay before hand, at the place from which he sets out, and has also to lodge a certain amount above the fee, to meet any extra charge should he detain the bearers by the way, but to be returned to him, on producing a certificate from the post master, of the place where his journey terminates, in proof of his having arrived there in the specified time allowed for the distance. An order is sent on by the daily post, before him, or by express, to each post master, directing him to have the requisite number of bearers in waiting by a given time, at each stage in his district. The traveller may stop anywhere, as long as he pleases by the way, only he must give information of such purpose beforehand, that the time of his departure from each place may be duly arranged, and provided for. Should he be too late in reaching his destination, the sum lodged as "demurrage" will be forfeited, to remunerate the bearers for the time lost in waiting for him, unless he can show that his detention was occasioned by any want of proper arrangement on the part of some of the post masters, or by any misconduct in the bearers.

Four of these bearers are required to carry a palanquin; but on a journey, at least eight are necessary, besides one, or more, to carry

luggage. At night, one of them bears a torch, for which the traveller has to pay something extra, besides the discomfort of being almost smothered for the whole night, by its oily smoke, which, as the torch bearer persists in running on the windward side, is blown into the palanquin, full in his face. If his party consists of eight, four carry, and four run on unencumbered, alternately. On one party being tired, they shift the palanquin to the shoulders of the other, without setting it down, and in this way, if the relays are all right, at their respective stages, one is often carried thirty or forty miles, without being once set down; unless he himself desires to get out for a little, to stretch his limbs, or the bearers should request leave to stop a few minutes, to get a drink, on passing a well. Each set expects to receive a bakhshish, or gratuity at the end of their stage, the amount of which is the only standard by which they judge of the rank, or wealth, of the traveller. As the one party always tell the next what they have received, or hold it up for ocular demonstration, the liberal traveller is regarded as a "bara sáhib," or great gentleman, and is consequently carried along with the greatest cheerfulness, and the utmost respect, every possible effort being made to please him, and to accelerate his journey; while the "scurvy fellow" is supposed to be some "chhota sáhib," or little gentleman, and is treated with bare civility. The bearers, of course, get their regular hire from the post office, from which they are employed for the job, but the bakhshish, though an extra, "not in the bond," is such a regular "dastúr," or custom, that no man of sense would neglect it, though he may give it grudgingly, and screw down its amount as low as possible.

The dákh bearers are not, in general, entirely dependant on this sort of work for their livelihood, but are, for the most part, common villagers along the line of road, having fields of their own; but are glad to earn a little ready money in this way. There are, generally, sufficient numbers of them to be found, unless during seed time and harvest, when they are busy in their fields. At such seasons, the post office, and police, agents have no little trouble in collecting them, especially in the more thinly peopled districts

through which the road may pass. Only a limited number of travellers can, therefore, be provided for at the same time, and private individuals must sometimes give way to the officers of government, travelling on duty. The bearers are, generally, a contented, and cheerful race of people, but, like all their countrymen, they require to be managed with a little tact. In running along with their burden, they usually make their trotting pace keep time to a sort of song, or rather, chaunt, which, especially when they are tired, sometimes degenerates into a sort of grunt; but, at other times, they seem in wonderful spirits, and though bathed in perspiration, covered with dust, and running at the top of their speed, they continue laughing, shouting, and making jokes, not always, indeed, of the most delicate nature, either at the expense of each other, or of those whom they pass on the road.

According to this mode of travelling, it takes, usually, about five days to reach Benares, without any other stoppages, either by night or day, save what may be necessary for refreshment. The distance accomplished per day, is rather less than a hundred miles. During the extremely hot months, travellers generally make an arrangement which enables them to stop and rest during the heat of the day, and go on during the night, and the cooler parts of the morning and evening. It is even dangerous for Europeans to travel, by almost any kind of conveyance in the middle of the day, during the hottest part of the year, which, in nothern India, lasts from the beginning of April to the end of June; when the rains generally commence and lower the temperature. Many Europeans, who, either from necessity, or temerity, have travelled in the middle of the day, and exposed themselves to the sun, during the hottest months, have fallen victims to the severity of the climate.

To one well used to the peculiar motion of a palanquin, the mode of travelling by dákh, is on the whole, easy and pleasant, though on long journeys it is rather tiresome. One may sit, or lounge, read or sleep, or enjoy the scenery through which he passes. If he is well acquainted with the language, he may talk with those of the bearers who trot along by his side, and who are always ready to tell him all

they know about the country, or anything else, with which they either may, or may not be acquainted; and in their turn to ask him all sorts of questions, answerable, or unanswerable. The missionary, in travelling, may have many opportunities, both in going along the road and at the halting places, of directing the attention of the people to the "life and immortality brought to light by the gospel," and of giving tracts and portions of the word of God to such as can read. The last time I travelled by this road, I distributed hundreds of tracts, which were thankfully received, especially by Brahmans, most of whom were going on, or returning from, pilgrimages to the holy shrines of Benares, Jaggatnáth, and Gaya. One morning, on passing some groups of these pilgrims, who were crowding the road in great numbers, I gave away a few Hindui tracts. A Brahman, who seemed to be one of a considerable party, on receiving one of these tracts, looked at it and said, "Do you give this for nothing, and is it about religion?" "Yes," I replied, "it is about the true religion." He thanked me, making a very respectful salám, and not being able to keep up with my bearers, fell behind, and commenced reading. After, however, I had got several miles farther on the road, the same Brahman and some others with him, came running up to me in breathless haste, exclaiming, "O sir, this is such excellent doctrine in this small book, will you be so kind as give us some more like it?" I gave them several more tracts, and after making their salám, and wishing me a prosperous journey, they all began to read. The seed thus scattered by the way side in India, has not been all lost, as not a few instances have come to notice, of genuine fruit being produced.

The proposed railway, in the direction of this line of road, has already occasioned a discussion among the orthodox Hindoos, on the question, as to whether or not going by rail on a pilgrimage, to Benares, will destroy the virtue of an action so holy. The extreme orthodox say it will; but the others reply that, on this principle, all the pilgrimages of the more respectable classes, as now performed, are already vitiated, as most who can afford it, go in carriages or boats, or on gaudily caparisoned elephants, or horses;

and many in palanquins, with trains of attendants; all these modes being quite contrary to the self-denying rules of the Shasters; and it is contended that, if these modes of travelling do not destroy the virtue of a pilgrimage to the holy city of Benares, it could be no more affected, were the journey performed by rail. This latter party will, no doubt, gain the day, as their doctrine is more pleasing than that of the bigots, and most in accordance with the existing practice of the higher and wealthier classes, whose religious pilgrimages, are, for the most part, mere journeys for health, or for recreation.

The high road, from Calcutta to the north-western provinces, does not pass through any city or town of great importance, till it reaches Benares, as the larger places are, in this part of India, mostly situated, either on the Ganges, or on some of its principal tributaries. After leaving the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the only place of importance in Bengal, through which it passes, is Burdwan, the chief town of a populous district of the same name. Here, the Rája of Burdwán, generally reputed to be one of the richest of the native nobility, has his principal seat, being the greatest landed proprietor of the surrounding district, from which he derives his title. Burdwan is, also, a civil and military station, but of a secondary class, having a few English residents, but no European troops. It is, also, one of the stations of the church missionary society. I have not been able, personally, to see much of the place, but from some of the missionaries who have laboured here, with whom I am acquainted, I have learned, that an encouraging amount of success has attended their labours. The mission has been carried on for a number of years, chiefly by the Rev. Messrs. Weitbrecht, and Linke, and others, mostly Germans, men highly respected for the zeal and piety which they have displayed in their work. In 1846, the Christian congregation here, amounted to two hundred, and the communicants to fifty, having been doubled during the preceding year, in the course of which, besides others, six heads of families had been baptized.

A stage or two, after passing Burdwán, the road enters a hilly region, for the most part included in the district of Beerb-

hún, which, in this direction, divides Bengal proper from the north-western provinces of Hindustan, or the original country of the Hindoo race. The appellation of Hindustan, is given, by Europeans, to the whole of India, but very improperly, as it is applied by the natives only to the north-western provinces, or the original seats of the Hindoos, stretching from the Indus to the north-eastern Hamalaya, but neither including Bengal, nor any of the countries to the south of the Nirbudda. On entering these hills, the Bengalee language begins gradually to melt into the Hindui and Urdú, but a great many of the people speak dialects that can scarcely be said to be related to either. Most of the natives belong to the aboriginal tribes, though many real Hindoos are interspersed among them. These tribes are not, generally, to be found in the plains, but still inhabit this, and other mountain ranges, where they have not yet been amalgamated with the ordinary Hindoo castes, though, no doubt, both their language and religion, as well as their general customs, have become greatly modified, by frequent contact with their more civilized neighbours of the plains, from among whom, many Brahmans and devotees have settled in the hills, and propagated the more complicated doctrines, and superstitions, of the Hindoo religion. It is highly desirable, that some vigorous effort should be made, to bring these tribes to the knowledge of the gospel, before they come entirely under the influence of the Brahmans, and of those more inveterate and complicated prejudices, by which the more regular Hindoos are so much fettered. Some attempts are now being made to instruct them, which, it is to be hoped, will be perseveringly continued. As yet, however, they have been only of a desultary character.

It has been chiefly from these hilly districts, that the agents employed by the planters of the Mauritius and West Indies, have decoyed away the ignorant coolies to supply the place of the emancipated negroes, as labourers in the sugar colonies. They are allured by fair prospects of wages, which, to them seem very extraordinary, and are said, generally, to leave their native hills, with the idea that they are only going a few days' voyage beyond Cal-

cutta, whence, after working two or three years, they will be able to return with large bags full of rupees. But how few of these poor people are destined to return form the pestilential swamps of Demerara, or Berbice, to their own pleasant hills, where their fathers have dwelt for centuries, ignorant of the vast world around them. As they are not only vastly inferior, in physical strength, to the negroes, but are even very much weaker than the natives of of the plains of India, they are quite unfit for the great labour of digging the stiff clay soil of Guiana, and other sugar countries. The climate of those low, marshy regions, is also quite different from that of the hilly, though hot, districts to which they have been accustomed, and must prove fatal to many of them. Every thing ought, therefore, to be done to prevent them from being deluded into such schemes of emmigration, which, whether they are advantageous or not, to the colonies, are exceedingly pernicious to the real interests of these victims of colonial, and commercial avarice.

Large as the population of India may seem, every one acquainted with the country, knows that, compared with its vast powers of production, it is very far from being over-peopled. Whatever be its wants, it stands in no need of emigration to thin its inhabitants. Food is still cheaper in India than in almost any other country in the world, and she has still millions of acres of excellent land to be brought into cultivation; while improved modes of agriculture, would easily render what is cultivated, immensely more productive. Let India have fair play, good government, and continued peace, improved means of communication, and an increase of skill and capital devoted to agriculture, and instead of seeming over-peopled, as she may now do, in a few districts, it will be found that, when once her extensive wastes have been cleared and cultivated, she might sustain three times her present population, and still continue to export food to other countries. The great work of the Indian government, should now be to encourage the developement of the vast agricultural and mineral resources of this great empire, and the social improvement of its millions of subjects, who, in their present ignorant state, are so ill

quallified to take the initiatory steps in any undertaking, even for their own temporal good.

After leaving the hills, the road enters the more prosperous and fertile parts of the province of Bahár. The portion of Bahár, however, traversed by the road, is by no means equal, either in fertility or population, to those districts of the same province, lying along either bank of the Ganges. Though it has many fertile tracts, south Bahár is in general hilly. The passage of the river Sone, which rises in the extensive range of hills that stretches across central India, brings us into the districts of Benares and Mirzapur, both included in the Old Mogul province of Allahabad. These districts now, form part of the government of Agra, while Bahár is attached to that of Bengal.

The crossing of the Sone is the greatest difficulty on this journey. This river is now generally believed to be the Erranoboas of the ancient Greek writers, at the junction of which with the Ganges, they place the great city of Palibothra, most probably the Patalipura of the Hindoos, the capital of the once powerful kingdom of Magadh, or south Bahár. This river is about three miles broad in the rains, but during the dry months, the greater part of this wide channel, is covered only with deep dry sand, through which neither man nor beast can drag himself along, without the greatest difficulty. To add to the traveller's discomfort, the river divides itself into several branches, too deep to be forded, so that he has to embark and disembark several times. If he has a conveyance to take with him, and especially a horse, who makes serious objections to jumping in and out of the little leaky boats, or who makes sundry attempts to jump overboard, when in the middle of the stream, to the no small danger of upsetting the frail bark; and if, at the same time, it happens to be mid-day, with an Indian sun beating on his defenceless head, and a strong hot wind all the time blowing in his face, and filling his eyes, mouth, and mostrils, with the burning sand—his situation is one of the most unenviable of which any one, who has experienced it, can well conceive. The difficulty of carrying a bridge for the projected railway, across this river, will be great, but

the work is not, I believe, regarded by engineers, as impracticable. A few miles after passing the Sone, there is a large town called Sasaram, which would be a good place to form a mission for the evangelization of this important district, but neither our own, nor the missionaries of any other society, have yet been able to do more than pay it an occasional visit, in the course of their itinerating operations. Had we agents to spare, it might become an important out-post to our missions at Benares and Mirzapur, from both of which it is nearly an equal distance, and being on the high road, it could be easily visited from either.

From the Sone to Benares, there is a fine road through a populous country. The only river of any consequence to be crossed, is the Karamnasa; which, as its name—"The destroyer of works"—or merit, imports, is regarded as unlucky—its waters being so unholy as to destroy the merit of a pilgrimage, should they touch the feet of a pilgrim to the sacred shrines of Benares, or Gaya. The late Rája Patni Mal of Benares, an old acquaintance of mine, erected a handsome bridge over it, to prevent the pilgrims from losing the fruit of their devotion, by wetting their feet in the unholy stream. For this work of great utility, and which cost him a large sum of money, it is generally understood that he got the title of Rája, from the government, a title which his son now bears. His merit, however, in the eyes of his countrymen, does not seem to have been much increased by this apparently pious action, as I have heard them often say that it was unlucky to mention his name before breakfast, in consequence of his grinding the faces of the poor. This is a common superstition among the Hindoos, that to pronounce the name of an oppressor, or miser, while fasting, is sure to be followed by some calamity. When they must refer to such a person, they will not therefore, use his name, but speak of him as "the man who lives at such and such a place," or indicate him in some other indirect manner. The Karamnasa seems to abound with alligators. Seeing a number of them basking in the sun, and lounging about at their ease on the shallow banks of the river, close by the bridge, I went to take a near look at them. They did not appear to take any notice

whatever of me, or some people who were washing clothes close by them. A prudent regard to my own safety, however, induced me to keep on the high bank. Had I gone near them on the lower bank, they might, perhaps, have shown a little more animation; but their formidable rows of teeth require only to be seen, to suggest caution in coming within their reach. They were not near so large as many of those that I have seen in the lower parts of Bengal.

Along the whole line of road from Calcutta to Benares, and thence all the way to Allahabad, Agra, Dilhi, &c. there are Bungalows, or small houses, for the accommodation and refreshment of European travellers. These are generally ten, twelve, or fourteen miles from each other. Attached to each of them, there are, generally, three men servants. They can always, on very short notice, prepare a meal, which usually consists of fowls and curry, the standing dish of all English travellers in India, as that which can be most readily and universally obtained, and cooked in doors, or out of doors, by man, woman, or child; and when neither fowl, flesh, nor fish can be had, the curry can still be made, with the hot spiceries and never failing ghee, or clarified butter, so essential to the existence of every native of India. The servants receive, at these Bungalows, payment for the articles which they furnish. The traveller pays also a rupee for the use of the place, and inserts his name, the place of his destination, and also the sum paid by him, in a book. He is not entitled to stay in one of the Bungalows more than one night, should any one come and require his place; but otherwise he may remain as long as he chooses. There are no articles of furniture, but tables, chairs, and bedsteads. Formerly there was no charge made, and the traveller had merely to give something by way of bakhshish to the servants, but now they make a charge to keep up a fund for repairs, servants' wages, &c. Any complaint against the servants, is written down in the book, which they themselves have to show monthly, when they go to receive their wages, at the nearest post office. Not being acquainted with English, they do not know what is written by any one, but generally try to find it out from the next traveller who comes, so that it is probable they

usually know, before they go for their month's salary, what is the verdict recorded in the book. They are, in general, however, very civil and attentive; and, perhaps, some of those who have put down the worst character of them in the book of their fate, have themselves been very irritable and ill to please—two qualities very common, but very troublesome to travellers in India, where of all countries practical stoicism would seem to be most required. Wo to the man who has much to do with the people of India, if he has no patience! Here one should never be in a hurry, for no body will ever sympathize with him. He is sure to quarrel with himself and every one else. He may manage to train those over whom he has full control, to a tolerable degree of punctuality, but in all his arrangements with the natives, in general, he must name a time even earlier than the earliest at which he wishes a thing to be done, else he will be sure to find them not ready, however easy it may be, or however much they may have even sworn to be punctual. This does not arise entirely from laziness, or want of energy; for when once a little roused up, and in spirit, they will sometimes, with the most perfect good humour, go through an amount of bodily labour and exertion, that few Europeans could surpass. Of this the palanquin bearers often afford examples. An instance of the kind occurred to me on the Benares road. It was of importance for me to go, one evening, a distance of about twenty-four miles, and the bearers who had brought me twenty miles in the heat of the day, could not go farther, being tired. I sent into a village, to see if any bearers could be got, for I was not travelling by the regular plan. About a dozen of rather active looking young fellows were soon collected from their work in the fields, who were willing to go; and said they would as soon go the whole as the half of the twenty-four miles, if I paid them the double fare. This I was ready to do, and promised a small gratuity if they went on as fast as they could, as I was somewhat in haste. They at once stripped themselves of all useless encumbrance in the shape of dress, as the weather was very hot, and shouldered the palanquin, which, with myself and some luggage, was by no means light, and without setting me once down

or stopping, ran on for ten miles, singing and shouting all the way. Some of their exclamations are such as the following:—"Call on Rája Ram Chandar;" *i. e.*, "The god Ram, for assistance." "Well done, Krishna; you may rest at last!" "There, that's like the sons of your fathers!" "Let your feet strike the ground, like heroes, and make the dust fly over the plain!" After running on about ten or twelve miles, they halted a few minutes and took a drink from a well, and added to it, I suspect, a little spirits, and then carried me on, apparently without flagging, the rest of the twenty-four miles; where after being paid according to promise, and taking a smoke of their pipes, they lay down on the ground to rest till morning; but not till they had assisted me in getting hot water for a cup of tea; and in beating up the village for other bearers, with whom, about two hours after midnight, I went on my journey. Now, the amount of exertion put forth by these men, in running about twenty-four miles, with cheerfulness and speed, carrying such a heavy load, and stopping only a few minutes to draw breath, or take a drink, must be considered as a very great effort for any class of men, making every allowance for the effect of habit. But even this is not nearly equal to what I have heard of some of them having occasionally performed.

Many Europeans travel this road on horseback, or in carriages, lodging at night in the Bungalows, unless when they take with them tents and servants. This is often done, both by the military and others; but is much slower than the dákh, unless when they have relays of horses on the road. This road is the great highway for the troops proceeding from Europe and Bengal, to the great military stations, that are principally situated in the north-western provinces, and especially towards the frontiers. Many thousands of British youths are, from time to time, marched along it, who are destined no more to behold their native land. Along the same line, it is proposed to form a railway, which will likely be the most important in the country, and have a powerful influence in the development of its resources, and on the social improvement of its inhabitants.

The other great highway to the north-western provinces is that by

boats, on the river Ganges. Though the road by land is now much more used than formerly, the river is still the principal route for travellers, and, in point of interest and variety, is far more pleasant than the other, and gives one a far better opportunity of seeing the large towns, and the people in general. The new method of going by steam is now rapidly superseding, and rendering antiquated, the old and slow process of going by budgerows, and ordinary boats. The old plan, however, with all its disadvantages, was of no small practical use to the new comer, as it gave him an opportunity of seeing, with some leisure, a good deal of the country, and, more especially, of the people, into the midst of whom he seems just to have dropped at once, as if from the clouds. All around him are, in language, manners, and habits, the very antipodes of all he has seen before; and he requires some time, and separation from European society, and earlier associations, to enable him to grow rapidly familiar with a state of things so new and strange. The old plan of sending every youngster up the country, in a boat by himself, with none but natives about him, obliged him to become acquainted with the people, and their language, in spite of any amount of laziness or stupidity, by which he might be distinguished among his own countrymen. For the acquisition of the language, in particular, no plan could be better, than to furnish the new comer, (after he had received a few lessons,) with a grammar, a dictionary, and a few other books, and throw him at once on his own resources among the people, without an interpreter of any kind. Unless one is most profoundly stupid, he cannot fail, with hundreds of the most common words of the language sounding constantly in his ears, accompanied with the most expressive gestures, gradually to distinguish those most frequently repeated, and, therefore, of most use in speech, and, from the circumstances in which they oftenest occur, to mark the uses to which they are usually applied. But nothing facilitates the acquisition of the language so much as to be dependant on a knowledge of it for the ordinary necessaries of life, as the young traveller in India, often must be. The stomach is the best prompter to the tongue, when its wants have to be supplied; and I never yet saw

an Englishman, who had made a voyage on the Ganges, who had not, at the same time, made a considerable progress in the Hindustani names of eatables, and who had, therefore, mastered the elements of the language. Thrown entirely among natives, a man, whether he can read or not, must acquire the more essential words and phrases of the language; while many profound scholars, from want of this sort of intercourse, and in consequence of beginning prematurely with the subtleties of grammar and the refinements of classical style, render themselves utterly incapable of speaking with that easy and idiomatic fluency so important in every language. The old way of going up the country, by a boat on the Ganges, was, therefore, of considerable use to the new comer, on the principle observed in olden times by the mothers of the Lincolnshire archers, who would not allow their boys to eat their breakfast till they had hit it with an arrow, as it hung suspended from the branch of a tree. The young cadet, on his first voyage to the north-west, often ran great risk of going without his dinner, unless he could speak a little Hindustani; but he generally managed soon to get over all difficulties in this respect. All such words as refer to eating and drinking, especially, have generally been learned with great avidity, even by the most idle and thick-sculled; and on the basis thus formed, the whole superstructure of their subsequent knowledge of the oriental languages has been built. This, after all, is the true method by which nature teaches languages, and children, the quickest of all linguists, learn them in this way alone; but to follow it generally, might lower the dignity of some learned professors, who would seem to find great difficulty in conceiving of a language, apart from its rules of syntax and prosody. But this is a digression. We must say something about the old way of travelling on the Ganges, before it sinks into oblivion, or before the progress of steam has entirely destroyed it.

The boats used for going up the country, by Europeans as well as natives, are of various classes, the most respectable being called pinnaces. These latter are usually rigged with two masts, like an English brig, or schooner, and have two or three cabins of considerable size, so as to afford accommodation for a family, with

servants, and a tolerable portion of furniture and luggage. The cabins are, on both sides, furnished with venetian blinds, and some of them, also, with glass windows. To prevent the smoke, and other nuisances connected with cooking, most parties take along with them, also, another small vessel, which answers the purpose of a floating kitchen, and is brought alongside at the times required for meals. Sometimes, indeed, this useful attendant is lost sight of, in consequence of taking a wrong channel of the river, or from some other cause or mistake of the people, which occasions an involuntary fast. I have had to go without dinner till ten o'clock at night; and a friend of mine, with his wife and family, were once two days without theirs. Old travellers, however, take care to provide against such accidents, by keeping part of their stores on board their own boat.

The pinnaces are used chiefly by the higher classes, who can afford them; but the budgerows are in more general use, being neither so large nor so expensive. They are almost flat bottomed, on account of the shallows in the river, being wide towards the stern, and tapering to the bows. They are fitted with venetian blinds all round the cabins, the same as the pinnaces. In addition to the difference of shape, they are distinguished by having merely one mast, with square sails, and no bowsprit. They have an enormous helm, stretching several yards astern, into the water. The number of oars of these vessels varies from eight to twenty; not that they row so many at once, but they profess to have that number of men, exclusive of the mánjhi, or master, who acts as helmsman. Though he is often, in whole or in part, owner, his authority over the crew is very small, as every one thinks himself quite entitled to dispute his orders, or scold him for mismanagement. The crews are sometimes Hindoos, and sometimes Muhammadans, but rarely mixed, as their religion and social habits, are so diverse as to destroy all harmony.

These vessels are exclusively for passengers, but those used for trade are occasionally employed for the same purpose. The latter are of many varieties both of build and size, and are exceedingly

numerous, in almost every part of the Ganges, and by means of them, an immense inland traffic is carried on.

Preparations for proceeding to the upper provinces are sometimes not very easily made. The Europeans settled in Calcutta, may in general be regarded as the cockneys of India, and however long they may have been in the country, they are almost as ignorant of it as the new comer himself. This does not make them the less willing to give advice, but, as is usual in such cases, increases their confidence in proffering it; but before taking any advice about his journey, the stranger should enquire if the adviser has travelled much, or been himself a resident in the interior; at least a hundred miles from the city of palaces. The kindness and hospitality of the European residents of Calcutta are unrivalled, and one feels at home among them at once. Whatever part of the world the stranger may have come from, if he has any thing like a respectable introduction, he is received and treated in a kind and generous manner; and every reasonable assistance is cheerfully given him. If a man has no connexions, and no introductions of a respectable nature, he has no right to complain of not being treated with confidence; and considering the great number of Europeans, of various nations who come to Calcutta, with a rather respectable appearance, but with no known character, it is no wonder if some of them should not meet always with a cordial reception. But complaints are made that the people in Calcutta, are too ready to receive all comers, and to introduce them to their friends with better recommendations than they received with them, or than their real characters deserve; so that others have sometimes suffered for their excess of good nature, and liberality.

The best directions for going up the country are generally to be had at the hotels, (where many are to be met with, who have often gone the way) and not from private friends, to whom one may have been introduced, and whose personal knowledge of India, very likely, if not bounded by the Mahratta ditch, extends little beyond it.

The embarkation of a new comer, who means to go in a budgerow to the upper provinces, generally takes place at Chandpál ghát.

All his boxes, as well as himself, and a variety of pots, pans, crockery, and articles of useful, or rather, often, of useless, furniture, bought at the advice of Calcutta friends, who honestly assured him that no such things could be had up the country; are bundled into the budgerow. He finds neither room to sit nor to stand, and the clamour of voices around him, almost stupifies him. He has, in the midst of this Babel, to settle his accounts, pay for the carriage of his goods, &c. and is so confused as to give away rupees for shillings, not remembering that one of the former is worth two of the latter. His servant has called butchers, and bakers, and other tradesmen from the bazár, with supplies for the voyage, and every one joins most zealously in fleecing him as much as possible, and after getting a great deal more than their due, they all scamper off, leaving him at last with his own servants and boatmen, whose prey he becomes in turn, till he gains a little experience, and is able to manage them better.

If the traveller is not a new comer, but one who has been here before, his circumstances are much altered; but still his difficulties are considerable. He can speak the language and give orders;—but who will obey them? Even an American citizen might envy the independence of a true Bengalee. He differs, however, greatly from the American "help," who both professes and practises an entire independence of his employer. The Bengalee, on the other hand, professes entire *dependence*, but acts with perfect *independence*. His obedience never extends beyond his own convenience, of which he regards himself as the only competent judge. You may pay him all he at first asked, and promise him much more than he expects, but still he will not put forth his energy, to do what he has undertaken, unless, in some way or other, he has been made to understand, that unless, he, *nolens volens*, does what he has engaged to perform, he must certainly be a sufferer, in purse, or in person. A reward in prospect is not to him a sufficient motive to perform his duty, if it is possible for him to get that reward in any way without performing the duty at all, unless he has to endure some severe penalty for its non-performance; but when brought fully under

both these influences, it is remarkable what energy he will at times put forth. In this he differs from the Hindostani, who, though by no means superior to the Bengalee in intellect, is greatly his superior in manly energy and physical power. But whether the traveller has Bengalee or Hindostani boatmen; his position, in starting from Calcutta for the upper provinces, is much the same. Stoicism seems his only resource, but even this is not enough. The people think nothing of stopping for any length of time, to suit the convenience of any man or boy of their number, and after they have got part of the fare in advance to purchase provisions, they all go off to the bazár to spend their money. If the boatmen belong to Calcutta, the shopkeepers, especially the grain sellers, are watching to get hold of them as soon as they receive their money, to obtain payment of their debts, before they leave; and their wives and children, are also waiting, and ready to scramble for something to keep them till the husband or father returns; so that the poor fellow has often to start on a voyage, which is to last for some months, with not so much as suffices to get his supper the night after he has left home. But what with borrowing from others, and entreating the employers of the boat now and then for a little more of his wages in advance, and foraging in various other ways, he manages somehow or other, to get on from day to day, till he returns, and then all these harpies will be on him again. Whatever, in fact, may be the wages of a Hindoo labourer, and whether or not he may have others dependant on him for support, he is almost always in debt, and consequently in the power of his creditors, who, as long as he owes them anything, and they never wish him to pay the whole, oblige him to deal exclusively with them, and that at any terms they may choose; so that he has always to pay for the food and clothes of his family, much more, (sometimes even fifty per cent more) than their market value. He becomes often in this way little else than the serf of the money lender, or the grain dealer, usually one and the same person, and he has not energy of character, nor perseverence in economy, to enable him to break through this bondage. Those who, by care and industry, have managed to keep out

of debt, and can therefore buy their food at the bazár, in large quantities and with ready money, can usually live better at one half of the expense, than those who are in debt to the grain dealer.

Should the crew belong to the upper provinces, the difficulty in getting them started is less, but even they have very often creditors and claimants of various kinds, both male and female, ready to pounce upon them, when they have received a part of their wages in advance and are about to depart. The readiness with which the people of India borrow and lend, or give credit, whether they know each other or not, leads always, and everywhere, to innumerable and violent altercations and sometimes even to blows. The country people are much cheated by the more cunning inhabitants of the towns, and nowhere perhaps more so, than in Calcutta; where the Bengalees, everywhere expert in cheating and lying, excel even their own countrymen in other places.

After the traveller seems to have got every thing settled for his voyage, he orders the boatmen to unmoor the vessel, and start; but, after waiting half an hour, or more, he finds no movement taking place, and goes on deck to enquire the cause, when he is told that his own servant has gone to the bazár, to bring salt, or something else, that he had forgot, and they are waiting for him. He orders them to go without him, but out comes another and more important cause of delay—the mánjhi has been seized hold of by a creditor, who will not let him go till he either finds the money, or security for its payment, and one half of the boatmen are not yet come from buying their provisions, and they cannot go without them. Another hour, or perhaps more, passes, and at last he finds all hands mustered, but the day is well spent, and now the tide is against them, and it is not possible to go up the stream, especially as the wind is unfavourable. The day is lost completely; and though he may scold a little, it is of no use, the people bear it with most exemplary composure, and he must make up his mind to go to bed in the boat and sleep, if he can, amidst a thousand noises, and tormented by the bites of myriads of musquitoes. The mánjhi has promised most emphatically, swearing by his own head and that of

his father, that he will start whenever the tide turns, and about three in the morning, he finds the budgerow is actually in motion, and that they are rowing and shoving her along, through the crowds of shipping, moored in the Hughli. Such, on several occasions, has been the commencement of my own voyages on the Ganges, when proceeding to Benares.

CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE UP THE HUGHLI.—MISSION STATIONS AND TOWNS ON ITS BANKS.—AGRAPARA, SERAMPUR, CHANDARNAGUR, CHINSURA, HUGHLI, &c.

After leaving Calcutta with a favourable tide, the budgerow is easily rowed along; the city, with its crowds of shipping, is soon left behind, and the traveller has a pleasing panorama presented to him on both banks of the Hughli, which are covered with beautiful country seats and gardens, interspersed with little temples, mosques, and native villages, peeping out from the dense foliage, with their ghâts covered with multitudes of bathers, both male and female, not always, indeed, too strictly attentive to decency. The tide runs pretty strongly up the river, for at least thirty miles above Calcutta, and occasionally much farther, so that, unless the wind is contrary, the oars are little required. But, in general, in going up the Hughli, and more particularly the Ganges itself, the vessels have to be towed by a long rope, called by the natives a "goon." This rope, they run out to a greater or less length, according to the state of the bank, and most of the crew go on shore, each man having a piece of thick bamboo, about two feet long, which he holds tight across his breast with one hand, while one end, to which a small rope is attached, rises above his shoulder. This small rope is made fast to the larger rope, at pleasure, and the piece of bamboo prevents it from hurting his shoulder or hands, while he is able, as he walks on, in a stooping attitude, to throw his whole weight on it. The larger rope, to which each man's smaller one is attached, is passed through a block for the purpose, at the mast head, and thence descends and is fixed near the helmsman, who can, without leaving the helm, let it out to a greater length, or shorten it, as may be required by the state of the river or bank, or in consequence of having to pass it over the masts of other vessels between

him and the shore. Where the water happens to be deep close to the bank, the vessel is kept near the shore, so that a shorter rope answers the purpose, and the work of the boatmen is easier; but if it is shallow, the rope has to be let out to such a great length, that it becomes, of itself, a very heavy burden. In passing the mouths of other rivers, or between shallows and sand banks, the men have often to wade up to the chin, and not unfrequently even to swim; at which they are as expert as the alligators themselves. At many places, also, they have to come on board and push the vessel along with bamboos. As they have only square sails, they can do little or nothing, by tacking, when the wind is unfavourable, but when it is easterly they can make considerable progress against the stream, by keeping as much as they can out of the rapids. They, however, often get aground, and great delay is occasioned. As the boats have no keels, and are almost flat in the bottom, they sustain no damage from running so often ashore; but I have seen them get so entangled among banks, as to go only four or five miles in a whole day. In the rainy season, the voyage can be made in much less time than in any other part of the year, as the winds are then more frequently from the eastward, and the average course of the Ganges is from north-west to south-east, though in many places it winds so much, that, after sailing for some days, one finds himself, as far as the places on shore are concerned, very near where he set out. No one wind, therefore, entirely suits for any length of time. There are, also, some parts of the river where there are very difficult rapids, up which, if there be a contrary wind of any great strength, it is almost impossible to track a heavy boat, and sometimes dangerous to attempt it. On such occasions, it is usual for the boatmen to sit down on the bank, to which they have made fast the boat, and there quietly smoke their pipes, and even for an hour or two after the wind has completely abated, they cannot be again roused to their work. Some of them, perhaps, have gone to sleep, and others have wandered into the neighbouring villages, or bazárs, and cannot be found, and their employer may fret himself to death if he likes, but no one will pay any attention to him.

Perhaps they have begun to cook and eat a good meal at their leisure, though it is not the proper time of the day, and no Hindoo will either hurry himself in cooking, or take one moment less time for eating, whatever be the exigency of his affairs. You may get him, indeed, to go without his dinner altogether, but if he is to have it at all, he must cook it, and eat it, with all due ceremony, and the most dignified leisure. He must also perform all the usual ablutions; for, like a true Pharisee, "except he wash, he eats not," and all his pots and pans, as well as his hands, mouth, and teeth, must be carefully, and with due order, purified with water, before any business, however urgent, can be admitted to interfere with this most important duty of his life—eating his dinner according to the forms prescribed by his religion, or the rules of his caste.

About seven miles above Calcutta, there is an important institution, for the education of native orphan girls. It was founded by Mrs. Wilson, who, for many years, devoted herself with great zeal to the promotion of female education in India. For a considerable time, she carried on, with much success, what was called the "Central Female School," in Calcutta, and which, in general, had several hundreds of pupils; but, after finding the orphans among them, for whom she had provided a home at the institution, greatly increase, she resolved to separate them entirely from the heathen day scholars, in order that they might be educated more entirely as christian children. She, therefore, commenced this institution on the banks of the Hughli, at a place called Agrapara. By her influence and perseverance, funds were raised for the erection of suitable buildings, and for the support of about a hundred girls, who are lodged, clothed and fed, as well as educated. Not stopping here, however, Mrs. Wilson went on and built a handsome church, a house for a missionary, and others for a boys' school and schoolmasters; so that Agrapara may now be called a Christian village, and a centre from which the knowledge of the gospel may spread over, and influence, the surrounding district. A missionary of the Church society now labours here, who has established a school for heathen boys, which, from the last account seen by me, is reported

to contain 150 scholars, of whom, during the preceding year, several had embraced Christianity, and been baptized. The excellent foundress of this institution, so well calculated to improve the character of native female society among those professing Christianity, has, much to the regret of many of her friends, adopted the sentiments of the Plymouth brethren, in consequence of which she has retired from the sphere of her former usefulness, and returned to England. Her loss to the cause of female education, has been deeply felt, both by churchmen and dissenters, for she belonged to both; and to mark their sense of her great worth, a subscription was made, by all parties, to provide for her during the rest of her days. The Institution is still carried on as she at first formed it, but whether with the same efficiency or not, I am unable to say. Few female agents can be found so eminently qualified for the work, as Mrs. Wilson was.

The church, built by her, holds about 500 people, and the school is calculated for 400 children. The church and all the other buildings have been made over to the Church missionary society, and if efficiently conducted, these institutions may do great good. In 1846, the number here professing Christianity, was reported at 70, and the communicants at 22, of both sexes.

After leaving the Agrapara Institution, the banks of the river continue much the same as below it. There is a great population, but the villages are not very much seen, as for the most part they stand a little inland, and are embowered among clumps of bamboos and shady trees, but from the multitudes of men, women, and children, bathing at the ghâts, and carrying home water from the river, it is obvious that the district must be exceedingly populous. There are, however, many large houses of respectable Europeans, as well as natives, on the immediate bank, but the common people live mostly in small, and rather frail houses, made of mats and bamboos. Considering the nature of the climate, however, these would seem far from uncomfortable, were they not so closely surrounded by luxuriant foliage, as to prevent the free circulation of air. The number of vessels on the river is, hereabouts, perhaps, greater than

elsewhere, as we are still only on the first stage, between Calcutta and the principal towns on the Hughli. A little above the Agrapara Institution, and on the same, or eastern bank of the river, is the military station of Barrakpur, where the country residence, and park, of the Governor General are situated. Between these and Calcutta, but a little inland, is Dum Dum, which may be called the Woolwich of northern India, being the head-quarters of the Bengal artillery, and chief depot for military stores. On the opposite, or western bank of the river—for here the course of the Hughli is about from north to south—stands the town of Serampur, once a Danish settlement, but now part of the British territories. It is better known, however, as having long been the principal station of the Baptist missionary society, and the scene of the devoted labours of Carey, Marshman, Ward and others, men ever to be held in remembrance, as among the principal instruments honoured by Providence, in rousing the attention, not merely of their own denomination, but of the universal Church, to the claims, of the heathen world, and especially of this great country. They now rest together from their labours, at Serampur, but the effects of those labours are still to be seen in different parts of India, and who can even imagine the extent of their ultimate results?

Serampur has not only ceased to be a separate territory, and become absorbed in the British empire, but it has also ceased to be the principal station of the Baptist mission. The latter is now at Calcutta. It was a very providential circumstance for the cause of protestant missions, that Serampur happened to be a possession of Denmark, and therefore, open to missionaries, at a time when the British dominions were shut against them. It was feared, by the short sighted politicians then at the head of the British Indian government, most of whom knew about as much of the real character of Christianity as the Hindoos and Mahommedans themselves, that preaching the gospel to the people of India, would cause them to rebel against British rule; though, how they came to this conclusion, it seems now somewhat difficult to make out. It led them, however, to refuse to allow the first Baptist missionaries, to settle

on British ground, and they were obliged to begin their labours at Serampur, where, to the honour of Denmark, they were allowed to prosecute their enterprise without molestation, though the British government of that day, used its influence to get them expelled. It is most creditable to Denmark, that not only in the north, but also in the south of India, she was, not merely the first to protect missionaries in her settlements, but that the king of Denmark himself was the first to send protestant missionaries to the eastern world. How changed since then is the state of public opinion, even in the highest circles, in India, with respect to missionary work!

Serampur is, perhaps, the neatest and most pleasant town on the Hughli. It has the advantage of having the water almost on two sides, as the river here makes a fine bend, so that the town stands on a point of land, and thus the wind is almost constantly cooled by passing over the river, which is here of considerable width. Nothing adds more to the comfort of a town, in so hot a climate as India, than to have refreshing breezes blowing over an expanse of water, especially if the water, as here, is in constant agitation by currents and tides. There are many good houses in Serampur, and on the whole there is less of that mixture of grandeur and meanness, so common in India, and most of all in Calcutta and other semi European places. It was once, however, a place of much more consequence than it is now; and during the long European war, it enjoyed great advantages in the way of trade, being the medium used for the remittance of money to England, by Denmark, in consequence of the Danish flag being for the most part neutral. At a later period it became a sort of asylum for debtors, especially from Calcutta, being beyond the jurisdiction of the British civil courts; and defaulters who wished to escape jail, used to run races on the river, with the Calcutta bailiffs, to reach this city of refuge. Of this privilege they are now deprived, as this last resort of rogues, has become British ground.

Serampur has, for a considerable time, been of no use to Denmark, as its commerce has entirely declined, being absorbed by the more prosperous port of Calcutta. This has been, in part, occasioned by

the accumalation of sand banks in the river, between Serampur and Calcutta, rendering it so shallow, unless in very high tides, that no vessels, drawing more than a few feet of water, can now reach Serampur, though at one time the river was so deep that large ships of war went up even farther. By many, it is feared, that the same cause will at no very distant period occasion the commercial decline of Calcutta, or at least its removal farther down the river, as the stream is gradually becoming more shallow and dangerous, unless art come to the assistance of nature, and keep the channel open for ships of large burden.

The Baptist mission, for which Serampur has been most celebrated in Europe, and without which it would have been scarcely ever heard of, is still carried on here, though now but on a small scale. The painful dispute which for a number of years, separated the Serampur missionaries, and their adherents at other stations in India, from the Baptist missionary society, has now been happily brought to an end. Some years ago, most of the branch missions were, with the consent of those who continued to occupy the central station at Serampur, and who were the responsible conductors of the general affairs of the body, reunited to the parent society in London, through their agents in Calcutta. The mission at Serampur, itself, however, continued to be carried on by the late Rev. Dr. Mack, and Mr. John Marshman, son of Dr. Marshman, one of the founders of the mission, till the death of the former. That event was not only a very serious loss to Serampur, but to India. Dr. Mack was one of the most talented, judicious, and laborious missionaries ever sent to the country. In addition to his other labours he assisted Mr. Marshman in conducting the "Friend of India," a well known weekly journal, which, apart from its consistent religious character, is generally regarded as the most enlightened, and influential newspaper published in the country. This journal has been of immense service, to the cause of sound morality and true religion, and also to the social and political interests of the people of India, respecting which no public writers in the country, have been better informed and more able and willing to

employ their talents and influence for the general good, untrammeled by party or class interests; while almost every other Indian journal has, in general, been more or less the organ of some section, either of the public service, or of the legal, or mercantile communities.

Since the death of Dr. Mack, Mr. Marshman has entered into an arrangement highly honourable to himself, by which the property formerly held by him as trustee for the Serampur mission, has been put into the hands of the representatives of the parent society; whose agents have taken possession of the chapel, &c. so that this, their original mission, is again carried on in harmony with the others, though not on so large a scale as formerly. This very painful schism may now, therefore, be considered as at an end; though it is impossible to say how much evil it has caused to the work of the gospel in India, or how much good it may have prevented. As to who were right, as who were wrong, it is now of little moment to decide. Different sides were taken by good men, usually considered wise and upright. Each party has had its warm friends and apologists, while many impartial men, who have fully heard both sides, and have had some local knowledge of the causes of discussion, have not considered any one party as right, or the other as entirely wrong. Some, not altogether unacquainted with the constitutions and working of public societies, are more disposed to attribute the failure of the Serampur mission, to the ill defined and defective character of its constitution, if it could be said ever to have had one at all, than to the parties on either side. As it respects property, especially, no distinct rules seem ever to have been laid down, as to what belonged to the missionaries, or what belonged to the mission. The Baptist society, more than any other in India, has been exposed to difficulties in connexion with property, as most of what it ever had, or still has, was not acquired by laying out its own funds in the purchase, but by its agents being allowed to hold appointments distinct from their missionary work, or by carrying on business of a remunerating character, the funds so acquired, being generally applied in one way or other, to the objects

of the society. Instances however, exist in which property thus acquired, or arising from local efforts, is not legally secured, and instead of being the undoubted property of the societies in England, may be claimed, on the death of their present agents, by their heirs and executors; or revert to the government, or other parties for want of the means of proving that they who formerly held them in their own name, were but the agents of others.

In India, it is peculiarly necessary that all mission property should from the first, be secured, in the best possible legal manner, to the societies by whose agents it is used; and not merely in the name of their agents on the spot, whose frequent, and sometimes sudden removals, by death, or otherwise, may destroy the proofs of real ownership—a most dangerous thing in a country like India, where there is so much legal chicanery, and so much false evidence in courts of law, especially in connexion with the rights of property.

Most of the large societies have now a considerable amount of property, in the interior of India, where frauds of this kind are most easily committed. This property consists of chapels, and school-houses, missionaries' houses, &c., all essentially necessary for their operations. Most of these buildings, however, are raised by local contributions from friends on the spot, and some of them have been made gifts of to the missions, without any legal conveyance whatever. Some friends to the cause, who have seen the need, perhaps, of a small house, or a piece of ground, have given it at once, and it has been, and still is used for missionary purposes, but no legal proof could be produced that any society, or its agents, are its real legal proprietors; and, at some future period, it might be easily alienated, should any temporary suspension take place in its use or occupation—a thing far from uncommon in a state so fluctuating as that of European affairs in India. These remarks have been suggested by a reference to the discussion which was so long carried on about the mission property at Serampur; and are made with a view to suggest to the directors of societies, holding such property in India, the desirableness of being very careful in having it properly invested, to prevent all danger of future loss or perplexity. The

author is not lawyer enough to give advice as to what ought to be done, but such advice can easily be had in the proper quarters. His only object, is to give a hint on a subject, which all must allow to be of no small importance to the future good of our missions in India.

The Serampur college, erected by the missionaries of the Baptist society, is a large and handsome building, fronting the river. It is still occupied for its original purpose, but has not, as yet, been so extensively useful, as its rather sanguine founders anticipated. In this, however, it has only been like many other plans formed rather prematurely in India, but good in themselves. A grant of land, for its support, was made, I believe, by the government, in the Sunderbans, which has not, as yet, been of great value, but, as the cultivation of those parts increases, it may become a considerable endowment.

The printing establishment—originally the principal one in the country, and from which, in the flourishing days of the mission, so many copies of the scriptures were sent forth in almost all the languages spoken in India—is still carried on by Mr. Marshman, though on a smaller scale, as well as a paper manufactory, of considerable extent. They are not now, however, connected with the mission, which is conducted by two of the missionaries of the Baptist society. The mission here is not likely to become again the centre of an extensive system of agency for the country in general, but may still be a mission of importance for the district around, which is very closely inhabitated.

The great error of the venerable founders of the Serampur mission, was their attempting too much. It may be true, that great things are not likely to be accomplished, unless great things are expected and attempted; but still there is such a thing as beginning to build a tower without counting the cost, and afterwards leaving it unfinished for want of the necessary resources. Extensive diffusion, and not concentration of agency, was the principle on which their missionary policy was founded, both as it respects the distribution of their subordinate agents, and their own labours in translating the word of God. The fervour of their zeal, in the absence

of experience, led them to attempt what it was impossible that they could be qualified to accomplish,—the translation of the scriptures into all the languages of India, and hence, they never produced a translation into any language that long outlived themselves; but at the same time, their attempts gave a stimulus to others, while their versions formed in general, a basis for those of their successors, and especially for those of their own body, who have considerably improved one or two of them, but allowed the rest to sink into oblivion. Some of them, indeed, were made into dialects, and not into languages sufficiently distinct, to require separate versions, and hence, were never of any real practical utility; but others were into important languages, and have even, when superseded by others, made under more favourable circumstances, been of great use for a time. The late Dr. Yates of the same body, has greatly improved the Bengalee and Hindustani versions made at Serampur; but in attempting to improve the Hindui one, has entirely failed, and like his predecessors, has shown that he was meddling with a language, with which he was mostly acquainted, only indirectly through cognate dialects, but had never spoken it himself. His version is merely a jumble of Sanscrit, Bengalee, and Hindui, such as is not to be found in any books written in Hindustan, or in any dialect of the Hindui, to be heard where that language is vernacular. Had the Serampur missionaries concentrated their translation labours, on the Bengalee and Sanscrit, as used and known in Bengal, where they were settled, and had every means of correct knowledge at their command; their qualifications for every department of their work were no doubt very great, and the result of their efforts might have been more than it was, diffused as they were over all India. The same might be said of the mode in which they located the agency, which they were enabled to raise in the country. Many of those agents were good, pious, but comparatively ignorant men, who might have been of much use as subordinate labourers in the districts near Serampur, where they might have been efficiently superintended, directed, and assisted in their work; and by their means, many churches might ere now have been formed to spread the light

of the gospel still further into the heathen darkness; but when sent into distant places to labour, unsupported, and alone, amidst the vast masses of heathenism, they were able to do little, or no good. Dr. Carey's figure, of which he is said to have been fond, of placing the lights widely apart, that they might spread their rays the farther, was not quite to the point. He seemed to have overlooked the important fact, that his lights were not suns, but many of them liker farthing candles, not always even the best of their kind; and instead of being able to emit a clear and steady light on every side, to dispel the darkness of heathenism, were themselves, sometimes, in no small danger of being partially obscured by it, or extinguished entirely, by the rude blasts of temptation and opposition, by which they were sure to be assailed. Many a small taper may burn pleasantly, and assist in the general illumiation of a well sheltered room, that is not fit to stand alone on a solitary rock of the ocean, to direct the storm-tossed wanderers of the deep, to the haven of safety and repose.

The Baptist, however, and most other missionary societies, seem now to have perceived the importance, in general, or in the present state of India, at least, of making their missions locally strong and efficient, as to the number of agents, and not dependent on the life, health, or activity of any one man, however he may be personally worthy of all confidence. Their more recent movements, at least, seem to be on the principle of concentration, a principle which, though it appears at first to involve a greater outlay, both of men and of funds, secures more steady and effective operations, in every department of missionary work, and a greater certainty of more permanent results. There may, on this principle, be much less to make a show in annual reports, but there will, in all ordinary circumstances, be much more actual work done, and a better use made of the various talents, all useful in their places, of which the body may happen to be possessed. There are too many different kinds of missionary work to be attended to in India, by European missionaries, to be well accomplished by any one man. A division of labour leads to a more natural application of each kind of talent, to its

appropriate work, so that all may contribute, in suitable proportions, though in different ways and degrees, to the production of the same general result,—the entire evangelization of the heathen. A man, who, in India, has to do every sort of work—such as preaching in English, and in the native languages alternately—sometimes engaged in translating the scriptures, and sometimes teaching schools—itinerating in the country, and managing the secular affairs of a mission, is, unless he is a perfect prodigy, not likely to do all, or even any of these things well. In a strong mission, however, all these different kinds of work may be efficiently done by separate parties, without much interfering with each other.

On leaving Serampur, we come to the French settlement of Chandarnagur, about four or five miles farther up the river, on the same, or western bank. It is a pleasant little town, but of little consequence, and certainly of no use whatever to the French, unless, like Tahiti, to increase their glory. How far such insignificant possessions can "add to their glory," it is difficult to conceive, unless on the principle of "the more cost the more honour." They would, however, gladly have given it over to the English, if the latter had thought it worth while paying a few thousands of rupees for the privilege of hoisting the English flag, instead of the tricolor. But John Bull is a sensible old gentleman, and did not wish to pay for a small spot of land, already in the heart of his own territory, and from which he derives all the advantages which it could yield him, even if he were formally in possession, when he knows he can take it, without a sixpence of expence, the moment his neighbour becomes troublesome; and, as to the three-coloured rag that waves over it, he knows that those who have hoisted it, will pull it down with their own hands, as they have done before, as soon as he bids them. It is said, that when the last war with France commenced, the governor of Chandarnagur was summoned by the English authorities of the opposite station of Barrakpur, to pull down the French flag, and surrender the place. He knew well that he had no means of resistance, having under his command only a few half trained native soldiers, more for show than for use; but he replied most stoutly, that "It should never be

said of him, that he had lowered the French flag, and surrendered a French settlement without firing a shot." A small party of troops was, therefore, sent across the river to take possession of the place by force. When he saw the party embark on board the boats, and push off from the other side, he fired off one of his old rusty pieces of cannon, and at once pulled down the French flag, his honour being now safe, as no one could say that he had yielded without firing a gun! It was returned to the French at the peace, for some reason, which, like that which influenced England to restore Java to the Dutch, must for ever remain inscrutable to mortals.

A few miles farther up the river, stands the town of Chinsura, of which, that of Hughli, the oldest settlement of the English, may be considered as merely a continuation, but still higher up on the same, or western bank. Chinsura formerly belonged to the Dutch, but was surrendered to the English, and at the peace was not permanently restored. Some Dutch families are still to be found here, among which is that of the venerable D. Herklots, Esq., who may be called the patriarch of the Europeans in India. He and his excellent lady have been patterns of every virtue to the inhabitants of Chinsura, for more than half a century, and by their consistent christian character, have rendered themselves respected by all classes, both European and native. He was, I believe, magistrate of Chinsura, under the Dutch government, and since the peace, has held office under the English. He has always been a steady friend of the missionary cause, and especially of the mission of the London society at Chinsura, which may be regarded as our oldest mission in Bengal.

Hughli may be considered as a mere continuation of Chinsura, so that both together, they form a long narrow town along the banks of the river. Like Serampur and Chandarnagur, Chinsura has a mixed population, as besides natives, there is a considerable number of East Indians, as the mixed races are in general called. They are the decendants of Dutch, English, and French, but more generally of Portugueze fathers, and native mothers. These towns on the Hughli, having been the first commercial settlements in northern

India, formed by the different European nations, before the English had obtained any real territory in the country, naturally gave birth to a large proportion of the mixed, or East Indian families. The early adventurers from Europe brought no wives with them. In general indeed, they were mere birds of passage, or only trading agents or sailors on the ships frequenting the river: a mixed race rapidly sprang up, from their intercourse with native females, which, as most of them were no doubt men of very licentious habits, was carried on to great extent. Not a few of those who were merchants, or factors, as well as some occupying offices of importance, remained much longer in the country, and almost invariably imitated the Muhammadans of rank, in keeping women, generally considered beauties, with whom they could have no legal marriage. This sort of connexion, in those days of loose morality in India, was sometimes regarded as equivalent to marriage, and brought to the female, and her children, many of its rights and privileges; and to connexions of this description, may be traced many families of wealth, and much respectability of character, in the East Indian community.

The gross immoralities, practised by the earlier adventurers from every European nation, in India, caused the name of Christian, which they assumed—and which came to be applied, not as designating a religion, but the mixed race to which they gave birth —not unnaturally to be regarded as a term of reproach, meaning something like bastard, in which sense it is still often used by the natives. Every scoundrel from Europe called himself a Christian, and those descended from him by illicit intercourse with women who had lost their characters, and with none else could he be connected, received the name of Christian, borne by their father, as a term of opprobrium, which became ultimately the name of a class. But Christianity itself was utterly unknown. Had the name Christian been laid aside, as well as every thing like the reality, it would have been a great blessing for those parts of India most frequented by Europeans.

When missionaries began first to preach the pure doctrines of the gospel in those places, and they were most unfortunately, though

necessarily, chosen as the first mission stations, the disadvantages arising from the prejudices excited by the wickedness of Europeans, were so great, that it was no easy matter even to obtain a hearing for any thing that professed to bear the name of Christianity. No inconsiderable improvement has taken place in India, generally, in the morals of Europeans, though very many lamentable examples are still being set before the heathen, by men, who, though they have no right to the name, persist in calling themselves Christians, even though they believe in none of the essential doctrines of Christianity, nor practice its most simple moral precepts. These are, of course, most to be found in our principal sea-ports, and large military stations, so that it is still a fact, well known to every missionary, that the best places for preaching to the heathen, are often those, where the people come the least into contact with the ordinary classes of Europeans.

At one time, indeed, there were scarcely any Europeans in India, who could be regarded as really consistent and devout Christians; but now it is a cause of very great thankfulness, that there are hundreds of such, and some of them men occupying the highest places in society, and the most honourable offices in the state; and who not only adorn the gospel in their public characters as men of justice and integrity, but also by their pious, consistent and benevolent lives, as members of the true church of Christ. Even governors of provinces, and members of the council of India, men whose public acts must influence daily the destines of millions, have, within the last few years, even amidst all the toils of state affairs in an oppressive climate, not disdained to sit down with humble missionaries, to assist in translating the word of God. In this respect, there is a very great contrast presented in the state of European society in India, not merely to the times of Warren Hastings and Clive, but even to the time when Carey and Marshman first arrived in Bengal. May the number of such men daily increase, and become more and more a blessing to the country, over which providence has called them to rule.

The mission at Chinsura is one of the oldest of the London

missionary society, in Bengal. It has not, however, been at any time conducted on a large scale. Sometimes only one, and never more than two missionaries have laboured here at a time. There is a good English chapel, which has been generally well attended, chiefly by soldiers, as an European regiment is generally stationed here. The preaching at the chapel, especially by Mr. Mundy, has been frequently blessed to the soldiers and others. The late excellent Mrs. Mundy, a woman possessed of the highest qualifications for the work, long carried on, with great success, a school for the Christian education of East Indians and English girls, and also an infant school for the same classes. These are still carried on, but the loss sustained by the death of Mrs. Mundy has been severely felt. Mr. Bradbury has had to labour for some time alone, in the absence of Mr. Mundy, whose health has required him, for a time at least, to leave India. He has had to preach in English, as well as in Bengalee, in the towns and villages around, and to superintend the schools connected with the mission. This mission is in great want of additional labourers to reap the fruit of the seed already sown, among the many thousands of heathen inhabiting the district; and the station has become one of peculiar importance, from the progress which education has already made in the neighbourhood, among the upper and middle classes.

The earlier missionaries of the London society at Chinsura, especially the Rev. Mr. May, paid great attention to native education, and having established many village schools, these had a great influence in exciting a desire for education in the minds of the natives. The government then established schools and employed one of the missionaries of the London society to superintend them, relieving the society from the expense of his salary. These movements led, at last, to the establishment of an educational institution at Chinsura, called the Hughli college, conducted on a large scale, by teachers appointed by the government board of education. This is now one of the greatest educational institutions in the country, and is held in an elegant and spacious edifice, recently erected for the purpose.

The funds for this institution, were not granted directly by government from the public treasury, but were found in a way, which may form an important precedent for the transfer of useless endowments, to purposes of general public utility. A wealthy Muhammedan had left some property, to build and endow an Imámbara, or place of religious worship and charity. The fund, however, in process of time, was found to be too great for the requirements of the institutions, and accumulated in the hands of the native administrators, so as to become a large fortune to themselves. The British government interposed, and after setting apart a sufficient portion to answer the end of the testator's will, applied the rest to the erection and support of the Hughli college.

The principle assumed by the government of India, of its right to interfere with the application of this endowment, gave rise to much discussion at the time, in the public papers, and, if I am not mistaken, the powers of the government were disputed in the courts of law. Legal or illegal, however, the government, if it had not right had might, and took its course, and no doubt the country will reap very great advantage from the plan adopted, and were many other useless, and some, even pernicious native endowments, to be dealt with in the same way, the people of India would be great gainers. It is obvious, however, that the governmental power over endowments, here assumed, ought to have led the same government to have acted in the same way, towards the not only useless, but very pernicious endowments of Jagatnáth, and other institutions. The principle, however, might easily be carried too far, and might endanger even the most useful endowments, by giving the government of the day, the power of perpetual interference with their administration, and of even turning them to purposes quite contrary to the intentions of the founders. Certainly the founder of the Hughli Imámbara, no doubt a good orthodox Muhammadan, would have rather thrown his money into the Ganges, than have left it to found a college, in which almost everything taught is directly subversive of the divine authority of the Kurán. The education given in the Hughli college, like that in the other government institutions, pro-

fesses to be entirely neutral as to religion, and confined exclusively to science and secular learning, leaving religious instruction to be given, out of the college, by any parties who may choose. A strict neutrality, however, on such an important subject, and one which necessarily connects itself, most intimately and inseparably, with all European philosophy, and history, as well as poetry and fiction of every kind, is after all, absolutely impossible. No native of India, or of any other country, can study English literature without becoming, more or less, acquainted with the religion of the English. An index *expurgatorius*, that would keep out all accounts from English history, of the religious sentiments of the people, during those most important times in our annals, when religion was so much mixed with politics, and formed one of the most powerful elements, by which the national mind and institutions were moulded into their present form, and by which our whole history as a people has been influenced, would certainly be as absurd, as to attempt to play Hamlet with "the character of Hamlet himself left out." But this is what the wise men of the east, especially those of them about Calcutta, have most zealously attempted, and in their zeal have seemed much more anxious to keep out Christianity, than the works of infidels and atheists; though certainly as much calculated to interfere with the religion of the Hindoo incarnations, as Christianity itself. The government schoolmasters, whether wilfully or not, if they do not in some degree go beyond the letter or spirit of the rule, which prohibits them from teaching religion of any kind, are in general, most miserably cramped, with regard, not merely, to history and morals, but even to literature in general, so that there is an incompleteness in the education which they give. They never can turn out an accomplished scholar. The utmost they have yet reached, or are likely to reach, is to give to India a few tolerably good arithmeticians, astronomers, geographers, and mathematicians —men fit for mere secular business, as land surveyors, clerks and accountants, &c. but in varied acquirements, sound general knowledge, and true mental elevation, their best alumni, are not, and

never are likely to be, equal to those of the Free Church college, and other kindred institutions.

Though among the teachers of the government schools and colleges there are men of very considerable talent and education, a great proportion of them are very moderately possessed of both, while comparatively few of them, have any very great zeal in their work, and are always very willing to leave it when anything more lucrative, or agreeable, comes within their reach. In some instances, children are naturally sent to the government, rather than to the missionary schools, not so much, because their parents are afraid of their becoming Christians, though this sometimes is the case, as from the idea, that such schools will connect them more with the local officials of government, and thus give them a better chance of obtaining public employment; which the natives, in general, prefer to everything else; especially on account of the respectability, in their own social circles, which such employment is supposed to confer, and the influence for the promotion of family interests, which it is generally calculated to give, through the official patronage with which it is connected.

CHAPTER VI.

DISTRICTS ABOVE CHINSURA.—CULNA.—CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS, AND SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL.—TOWNS OF NADEA AND KRISHNAGUR.—BHAGIRATTI RIVER.—BAPTIST MISSION AT CATWA.—BATTLE OF PLASSY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES TO INDIA.—MISSION OF THE LONDON SOCIETY AT BERHAMPUR.—CITY OF MURSHIDABAD.—SILK FACTORIES.—ENTRANCE OF THE GREAT GANGES.

After leaving Chinsura and Hughli, which may both be regarded as one town, there is no place of particular interest for a considerable way up the river. Almost adjoining to Hughli, there is a place called Bandal, where there is an old Roman Catholic church, much resorted to by the East Indian Catholics, of the lower orders. The building itself, and its adjuncts, form a rather interesting object, as viewed from the river. We may here be said to leave the line of old European settlements, which now form the appendages of Calcutta. Most of them existed before that city was built, but have lost all their consequence since its aggrandizement, which has been the natural result both of its more convenient situation for commerce, and of English predominance in the country. The French, Dutch, and Danes, who founded these places, were once individually, as powerful in Bengal as the English, but while the latter have gained a great empire, the other three have gradually vanished away. The Portuguese, who were once the most powerful body of foreigners, on the coasts of India, have now little else than a name, which has become a term of reproach. Though honoured to lead the way to India, and other eastern, as well as to African, countries, they deserved and brought on by their own deeds—the fate which has befallen their settlements and colonies. With few exceptions, those of them who crossed the seas, were bands of ruffians, swindling traders, and fanatical bigots, and had they succeeded in forming an empire, it could have led only to the ruin of the unhappy countries

that might have come under their sway. It was well for the interests of mankind, that a nation so degenerate, though first to find its way to the east, was incapable of obtaining dominion there; and that the treachery and cowardice of their character, prevented that combination of military and governmental talent, with mutual confidence and fidelity, without which, an empire so distant, could neither be formed, nor retained.

After passing these towns, there are no others possessed of any thing like an European character, though the country continues as fertile and populous as farther down. The chief towns on the Hughli are Saugur, Culna, and Nadea. At Culna, which is a considerable native town, with only a few European houses, an extensive trade seems to be carried on, most partly in grain. The Rája of Burdwán has one of his residences here, and there are some temples of considerable size sacred to the god Shiva or Mahadeo.

In this neighbourhood, and in the district of Krishnagur to the north-east of it, the Church missionary society has a considerable number of agents, both European and native, who, during the last few years, have met with an amount of success, such as has rarely, as yet, been experienced in the north of India. Over a very considerable extent of country, a great number of the people have become favourable to Christianity. Some thousands have been baptized at the different stations, and though there may be much reason to doubt of the sincerity of many of them, there is much hope, that, if the means of religious instruction of a suitable nature, are vigorously and perseveringly applied, now when caste has been given up, and the Christian name assumed, great advancement may be made, and the movement rapidly extended to other districts adjacent. It might be well, now that an opening has been made of so encouraging a nature, were the church society to throw in the main strength of its agency into these parts, to improve what has been begun, and from the vantage ground thus obtained, to extend its aggressive movements, by means of its native agents and others, into the surrounding regions. The erecting of so many village schools and places of Christian worship, so as to bring the gospel to bear on the

mass of the people, cannot fail in time to have great effect on the heathen, especially when they see that so many of their countrymen have already openly embraced Christianity. Much of the progress of the gospel must now, however, depend on the character of those who have already professed it, and in order that this may be raised, the great work of European missionaries in such districts, should be to give a good Christian education, combined with efficient pastoral superintendance, and sound instruction in all the doctrines and precepts of the word of God. In such movements, however, the great hope is in the children of the first converts. The parents are often too old and dull of comprehension, especially in country places, ever to be able to exhibit the intelligence and culture of consistent, well instructed, and mature Christians. Their children, however, if carefully taught and disciplined from infancy, in the knowledge of scriptural truth, and of Christian morals and habits, will, through the grace of God, become much better qualified to be useful agents in teaching the truths of the gospel, and in their own characters better examples of their genuine influence. The great object of a mission, is by no means accomplished, when a considerable number of the heathen abandon their idols and assume the Christian name, but even should the conversion of every one of them be perfectly genuine, a great deal remains to be done, to promote among them Christian habits and useful scriptural knowledge, and also to train up from among them, a native ministry, of suitable qualifications, by which the work of further propagation may still be carried on, and Christian institutions permanently established and maintained. The hopeful beginning already made in this part of Bengal, though among plain villagers, may, if the work is rigorously prosecuted, by well qualified men, yet lead to a glorious change affecting a large extent of country. Too much, however, ought not to be expected, and unless well attended to, there is, from the peculiar character and circumstances of the people, a great danger even of things becoming retrograde. It will be long before such infant communities cease to depend, for their very existence, on the efficient care of others.

On passing Nadea, we leave the river Hughli, and enter one of the

branches of which it is composed—either the Bhagiratti, or the Jellinghi. These two streams, after leaving the great or proper Gunga, in the upper parts of Bengal, and flowing in a southerly direction, unite near the town of Nadea, and thus form the Hughli, which, after receiving the Matabhanga, and other rivers, becomes the most navigable mouth of the Ganges, whose name it sometimes bears. From Nadea, upwards, till we reach the Great Ganges, the navigation is sometimes interrupted for want of sufficient water, for any, except very small, flat-bottomed, vessels. Every vessel drawing above two feet, or so, of water, is obliged, at such dry seasons of the year, to go round, and enter the main stream of the Ganges, farther down, by some of the other branches that flow through the Sunderbans. Both the Bhagiratti, however, and the Jellinghi, are large rivers in the rainy season, and navigable for not only the largest native boats, but also for steamers, which, at that season of the year, pass up them to the north-west provinces.

The town of Nadea has long been celebrated for its college, which has been the fountain of Sanscrit literature for Bengal proper, as Benares has been for Hindustan. In this neighbourhood, the learned Sir W. Jones had a country seat, when he was judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Here he used to reside during the vacations in his Court, and spend his time in oriental studies, in company with the Pandits, or Professors of the Nadea College. Its glory is now departed. Sanscrit, at least in Bengal, is now rather at a discount; and the English, in every respect more useful, is rapidly taking its place as the learned language, even among the Brahmans, whose grandfathers would have thought their lips polluted had they uttered a word of it. The number of the Brahmanical students has gradually declined, and the qualifications of the teachers greatly deteriorated. I am informed, that scarcely any of them now can speak Sanscrit; and that many of those who profess to know it, only know it by rote, there being many books which they are quite unable to read, so as really to understand. Though, for many reasons, it may be very desirable that the knowledge of this ancient and remarkable language should be preserved, by the learned, as the Greek is in

Europe, there is no reason to lament its falling into neglect. Instead of being the source of intelligence and refinement to the people, except what is verbal, it is the storehouse of all the filthy and abominable mythological tales and fictions which, being translated into the vernacular languages, produce the most demoralizing effects on the Hindoos in general, by whom they are received as having a religious sanction. From it, also, is derived all that mass of subtle, metaphysical doctrines, by which every distinction between virtue and vice is obscured or destroyed, and atheistical and pantheistical principles, of the most dangerous character to morals, constantly and directly inculcated. At any rate, whatever loss might be sustained by oriental literature and ethnography, by the gradual disappearance of Sanscrit, religion and morality would have little cause to mourn its loss.

The country, along the banks of the Bhagiratti and Jellinghi, is like other parts of Bengal—a dead, but fruitful flat; not unfrequently, to no small extent, subject to inundations from these rivers. It is also a very populous region. There are a good many indigo, sugar, and silk factories scattered over the country, at which European managers reside, some of whom are the proprietors, but a far greater number are merely the agents of others, and, especially, of Calcutta commercial houses. Not a few of these factories, however, belong to natives.

The manufacture of sugar has greatly increased during the last few years, and, in many instances, indigo factories have been converted into sugar, or silk factories; but, in other instances, these different branches of business are carried on at the same places, and by the same agents. Considerable quantities of mulberry plants are grown for feeding silk worms, and a good deal of silk is exported. The indigo plant, also, grows well in these parts, and a good deal of land is occupied in its cultivation. The indigo is made from a small bush, which grows annually from seed. When grown to the proper size, the indigo plants are cut near the roots, which are left in the ground, so that a second crop is produced, at another season of the year, by their sprouting again. This latter crop is

not, however, so valuable as the first. The indigo plants, when cut, are tied up in sheaves, or bundles, and taken immediately to the factory. The native cultivators are paid by the indigo factors, either for the number of bundles of indigo plant delivered at the factory, according to agreement as to price and size, or so much is given annually for fields on which to grow it, at the risk of the factor, who makes advances in money, and pays the expences of cultivation. A great deal of litigation takes place between these indigo factors and the native farmers and land holders—the latter, frequently, after having received money in advance, refusing to let indigo be sown in their fields, and the other often prosecuting for damages done by the natives, either by cutting their indigo, or turning their cattle into the fields in which it is grown, to graze on the crops of the planter. It may be difficult often for the magistrates to decide these disputes between the European planters and the native farmers. Europeans complain often, that the magistrates and judges, though themselves Europeans, have too great a partiality for the natives, and a dislike to have Englishmen settled in the country, as they give them more trouble than the more submissive natives. To what extent there may be ground for this charge, it is difficult to say, but there is reason to fear that many of the planters are not such men as can be entrusted with the interests of the natives, when their own are of an opposite character, which is too often the case; and a little wholesome jealousy of them on the part of the authorities, when they are charged by the natives with claiming what is not clearly a right of their own, and asserting their claims in a violent manner, is very useful and necessary, as long as it does not infringe on any of the actual privileges to which, in common with the natives, they are entitled.

When the indigo plants are brought to the factory in bundles, they are at once cast into tanks, built of brick, and well plastered inside. Fresh water is conveyed into these tanks, and after the plants have been well steeped, so as to extract the juice, the water containing this juice of the plant is drawn off into another tank, where it continues to be every now and then violently agitated, by

natives wading in it, and dashing it about with their hands and feet. This water is now quite bluish in colour, and after being passed through one or two more of these tanks, it is drawn off into boilers. In boiling, the water is gradually evaporated, and the sediment left in the bottom is the pure indigo of commerce. This is cut into small cakes, and packed for the market.

The process of preparing this valuable article from the green plant is very simple, but the business itself is exceedingly precarious. This arises very much from the great difficulty in getting suitable weather for the proper growth, and healthful maturity of the plant. It requires rains to a certain extent, or else it is quite destroyed by the drought, while, on the other hand, excessive rain, a thing very common in India, completely destroys it. Sometimes it happens, that a planter loses all his outlay for a year or two, amounting to a very large sum, and has no return sufficient to cover even half the interest of his money. In other instances, in the course of one or two years, he may clear a moderate fortune. This gives the whole business a good deal of the character of gambling. No human foresight can avail, where the business depends far more than on any thing else, on the peculiar nature of the season, and that not in the country generally, but on the presence or absence of a few showers in one's own locality.

The town of Catwa is the first place of any importance on the Bhagiratti, after leaving Nadea. It is situated on the western bank of the river. It has had a Baptist mission ever since 1804, but, I believe, never more than one missionary at a time. There is now a church with about thirty communicants, under the care of the Rev. W. Carey, one of the sons of Dr. Carey. He has with him two native preachers, chiefly employed among the heathen around. This mission was begun by Mr. Chamberlain, who here at first met with considerable opposition. That intrepid missionary afterwards went into the north-western provinces, where he may almost be said to have been the first Protestant missionary. There he founded several of the Baptist missions still existing. The station at Catwa has been kept up ever since, but on a small scale. It requires very

much to be reinforced, to render it truly effective, where so much might be done in these extensive districts.

Before coming to Berhampur, the principal European station of the Bhagiratti, we pass Plassey, or Pilási, where the dicisive victory obtained over the Nawáb of Murshidabad by Lord Clive, laid the foundation of the British Empire in the north of India, by acquiring in one day to the East India company, the supreme power over the wealthy provinces of Bengal, Bahár, and Urissa. Here the scale of India's destiny was turned by the treachery of one of her own sons, and one class of foreign rulers was exchanged for another, for those who were dispossessed by the English, were for the most part themselves intruders and conquerors in India, or the descendants of those who when tired of ravaging it, cut out inheritances in it for their children, with their swords. It requires a great deal of false sentimentalism to enable one to shed tears over the decline and fall of the Muhammadan power in India, whatever may be one's opinion of a great many of the men, or of the means, by whom and through which, most of its territory has been transferred to Britain. Whatever, may have been the prosperity of India, for a time under the sway of the great Akhbar, and one or two other Emperors, the mussulman rule in general, as far as the Hindoos, the great mass of the people, were concerned, was one of intolerance, violence, and bloodshed. The sceptre of India fell from the hands of the Muhammadan chiefs, after they had reduced their own Emperor to a mere puppet, destitute of all authority even over the women and eunachs of his own palace at Dilhi, and wasted their own strength and the whole country by their mutual and inveterate dissentions. It is not unusual to hear the English spoken of, as having overturned the Mogul Empire, while the fact is, that it was overthrown by its own unwieldiness, and want of any moral power of cohesion, before the English had anything deserving the name of territory, or influence, in the country. It was broken to pieces, and its various fragments were being tossed about, and contended for among the boldest and fiercest of the upstart leaders of a rapacious and demoralized soldiery, composed of the most ruthless and merce-

nary desperadoes who lived only by preying on the vitals of the country.

The English, indeed, had no right to any part of India, save the small spots which they had purchased, or received as grants. Those from whom they took most of it, however, had no better claim. The longest heads, and the longest swords, have always, for the time ruled India, as well as most other countries, and what constitutes a right to rule, has not yet been very clearly decided. But if the vox populi vox Dei principle, were to be introduced, I have little doubt but the Honourable Company stands fully as good a chance of being re-elected by its subjects as most other sovereigns. England itself, and most countries of Europe, have been subdued by foreigners, and are for the most part ruled by their descendants, more or less remote, and the amalgamation of the ruling, with the native races, is not yet complete. In India, that amalgamation is more difficult, but it has begun, and is going forward, and the development of an Anglo-Indian race, is only retarded by the difficulties arising from climate and religion. The progress of India in knowledge, and especially in Christianity, will in time approximate the different classes, to each other and fill up the chasm that now so widely divides them in social life.

Though in many instances overruled by Providence for good, and we confidently hope they are even already beginning to be so in India, both conquest and colonization have almost without exception, been occasioned and accompanied by the most unprincipled rapacity, and merciless aggressions of the strong upon the weak. Every where the migrations of civilized men are followed by the ruin and extermination of the rude aborigines, and it is well for India that she cannot be colonized, as well as conquered. Many a country has been conquered, and the conquest has raised it in the scale of nations, and resulted in giving it all the impulses of a higher civilization; but the barbarous tribes of a thinly peopled, but fertile region, have invariably been utterly annihilated as soon as the tide of colonization has begun to roll in,—but, such is the nature of India, that no large body of European colonists is ever likely to

settle in it. Were such the case, unless they were in general men of much intelligence and moral worth; there would be great danger, especially in the interior, of their falling soon into a state of strong class opposition to the natives, and the result might be a struggle for ascendancy of a very dangerous nature, tending either to the expulsion of the one party, or the social degradation of the other. At present there is much to encourage the hope, that the Europeans, and the more enlightened classes of the natives, will be able to go on with mutual harmony, and good will towards each other in promoting the improvement, both of the intellectual and physicial state of the people of India. The continuation and increase of this harmony, will be of unspeakable advantage to all classes in the country.

The principle place on the Bhagiratti, is Murshidabad, a large city, once the Muhammadan capital of Bengal. Before coming to it, however, we pass the English station of Berhampur, which is on the same, or eastern bank, but about four miles farther down the river. A considerable body of troops at one time was stationed here, but since their presence became more urgently required in the north-west, their number has been much reduced. There are now no European troops, and only a regiment or two of native infantry. The station is rather pleasantly situated, but only a few of the Europeans seem to live on the bank of the river, which is for the most part, occupied with barracks, hospital, and other public buildings, among which are the mission house, chapel, and schools of the London missionary society. The Rev. Micaiah Hill, now in Calcutta, for long laboured alone at this station. When there were many Europeans here, a considerable number of years ago, a good and commodious English place of worship was built, in connexion with the London mission, and called Union Chapel, in which Mr. Hill, in addition to his missionary work, preached with considerable success and much acceptance, to his fellow countrymen. The removal of the troops, however, has now greatly reduced the English congregation, as there are not many Europeans in the place. The present missionaries at Berhampur, are the Rev. Messrs. Paterson and Lessel, who are labouring among the natives with much more

encouragement than was experienced at this station for many years. The success during the last few years has been considerable, though attended with not a few difficulties. A number of native converts has been formed into a church, and a still greater number, both male and female, is now connected with the mission, and under Christian instruction, and there seems an encouraging prospect of a large increase in the future.

Like many other missions, that of Berhampur requires much to be strengthened, to enable the brethren not only to go on efficiently with present plans, but to enlarge their operations in the extensive city of Murshidabad, and the country around. A good deal has been done, during the cool season, in the way of itinerating among the villages, especially in the districts between the Bhagiratti and Jellinghi rivers; but it is obvious that very much cannot be done in this way without some part of the more important and permanent duties of the station being, at times, partially suspended. This is always most undesirable, as a people just emerging from heathenism, if not going forward in improvement, generally go backward.

A neat gothic chapel was, some years ago, erected in the town for the use of the native church and congregation; and, in connexion with the mission, there are orphan asylums, for boys and girls, who thus receive a Christian education, and are trained, also, to work. A farm, of considerable extent, on which the boys of the asylum and the native christians cultivate grain, and arrow-root, and rear silk-worms, was commenced, by Mr. Hill, some years ago, with the hope of furnishing means of employment and support to such native Christians, and inquirers, as might not have the means of subsistence near the mission, and to be, at the same time, a school of agricultural industry. Considerable difficulties were experienced in the outset, in obtaining funds, which, for the most part, were raised by Mr. Hill among his own friends. The care and superintendence of the institution have added much to the labours of the missionaries, but, it is to be hoped, not without useful results. The plan was designed to combine, as far as practicable, the character of a Moravian institution with the ordinary modes of missionary operation. With

the exception of that of the English department of the Berhampur mission, its early history was one of no small difficulty. Mr. Hill had rarely any coadjutors, or even so much as a native assistant; while the virulence of the opposition to the gospel, in this populous district, would seem from all accounts to have been generally greater than in most other parts of the country. The influence of the Nawáb of Murshidabad, and his swarm of mussulman retainers, is very great over all the neighbouring Muhammadans. He is naturally looked on as the greatest man of the country, by his own dependants, and they look on themselves as having much of their master's consequence reflected from their own persons. The Muhammadans are every where disposed to be arrogant and self-important, and here, where they think they have got such a great man at their head, their arrogance and self importance shine forth with peculiar lustre. Murshidabad and Patna, seem, as far as my own observation goes, the only two places in northern India, where any difficulty is to be met with in getting a civil answer to a civil question; but in want of politeness, the Murshidabad people do not seem to have any rivals in India.

Berhampur has not always been regarded as a very healthy station, though on this subject "Doctors have differed." Some medical authorities, it is said, reported it to government as unsuitable for European troops during part of the year, which is supposed to have led to their removal. Other medical men have questioned the correctness of this opinion, and have maintained its general healthiness, as compared with other stations in Bengal, though it may be inferior to some of the stations in the north-western provinces. One thing is certain. The ground is low and in the rains must be often scarcely above the level of the river, and sometimes even below it. The general dampness of the ground, and the stagnation of the water during the rainy season and for some time afterwards, must, in so hot a climate, be unfavourable to health, but in this respect Berhampur cannot be worse, than most other places in Bengal. No part of the province, which is everywhere alluvial, can be much above the surface of the Ganges during the highest period of the

inundations, when the greater part, is even below the level of the water, which is often prevented from destroying the crops of a whole district, merely by the embankments, partly artificial, and partly thrown up by the river itself. When these banks give way, the country is laid under water to great extent, whenever the river rises above its average height. About the end of the rainy season, also, immense quantities of decayed, and decaying, vegetable matter, chocking up every place, in this warm, moist, and productive region, and mixed with vast numbers even of putrid animals, and vermin, and every other conceivable nuisance, which the people are too indolent to remove, must necessarily taint the air and render it unwholesome.

Between Berhampur and Murshidabad, there is a considerable population, living in bazârs, known by various names, and sometimes spoken of as separate towns, but which may all be regarded as mere adjuncts, either of one or the other of the above places. Murshidabad with its various appendages may, therefore, be said to extend for seven or eight miles along the river side, though in some places the space is partly filled up by fields or gardens. The new palace of the Nawâb—a noble building in the Grecian style—stands on the bank of the river, at the end of the city next Berhampur. It was built by English engineers in the service of the British government, and has a fine and striking appearance from the river. Along with the other buildings and gardens, forming the Nawâb's estate, it occupies a large space, after passing which, the city of Murshidabad may be said to commence.

The general appearance, apart from the Nawâb's palace, of Murshidabad, is that of a decaying city. There are in it, however, many fine houses, mostly in the usual Muhammadan style, having small doors and windows, and terraces fronting the river, with flat roofs, on which loungers sit and smoke their pipes. Not a few houses, however, have evidently been built by, or for Europeans, no doubt when this was a considerable mart for English trade, as they are more or less in the Anglo-Indian style, which is much more open, airy, and commodious than that used by the natives. The

grandeur of Murshidabad is evidently fading away, though it is still a large city. Its present inhabitants do not appear, as if they either could or would have erected the houses in which they now dwell, but either from poverty or choice, would more likely have occupied much inferior abodes, had they not found these built to their hand, and comparatively cheap, in consequence of the fewness of the more prosperous class, for whom they were originally designed. Everywhere, one sees huts built with the fragments of ruined palaces, and spacious gardens, once surrounded with lofty and well built walls, with summer houses on the terraced corners, parts of which remain, while other parts are gone to ruin, or closed with mud, and plastered over with cow dung, stuck up to dry for fuel. Large buildings, here and there, in entire ruins, encumber the bank, on the tops of which the poorer classes have taken up their residence in little huts made of bamboos and matts, and thatched over with palmyra leaves. Ghâts, or large staircases, tumbled into the river and covered with rubbish, or overgrown with creepers, shrubs, and stunted peepul trees, all mark the general departure, or decay of the higher classes. The population, however, though evidently of a poorer description, than the men who once occupied these ruined edifices, is still very great, but what proportion it may bear to what it once was, when Murshidabad was the capital of Bengal, and naturally drew the higher classes to it, who now frequent Calcutta, it is impossible to say.

The general effect of the British government in India, has been to increase the village, and diminish the city population; unless in such cities, or towns, as form the chief commercial depots. During the periods of war and turbulence, that preceded the English rule, men of the richer and higher classes, could not live on their estates in the country, but crowded into the cities for protection to their families, while they themselves hung on at the courts of the higher chiefs, or followed them in their military expeditions; but now they generally live securely on their estates in the country, and feel more at home, and of much more consequence, in the midst of their own friends and retainers, than in crowded cities. Unless in

a few large cities, having something peculiarly attractive about them, and where they come chiefly for amusement and society, the great men among the natives, are seldom to be met with, except in the country. They have often, however, houses and gardens in the neighbourhood of such cities as Dilhi, Agra, Benares, &c., but seldom live in the towns, except for a short time. The very great among them, indeed, generally, live by a town, but that town is usually almost entirely their own property, and nearly all its inhabitants are their own tenants, dependants, and servants, so that their will is law to the community around them. In fact, the larger towns in India, are now almost entirely places for trade, and anything like a resident aristocracy to be found in them, consists for the most part, of the brahmans, and the principal bankers, grain dealers, and merchants, these three latter classes forming in reality but one.

After passing Murshidabad, the first town of any importance is Jangipur, where a toll is levied on all vessels passing, under the pretence of keeping open, and improving the navigation of the river, but whether it is devoted to this object or not, has long been a mystery, as the sum received from the immense number of boats passing, must be very large, while the improvement of the river seems to have been but small. Smyptoms of increased attention had begun to appear when I passed the last time, and they were driving in stakes, to point out where it was most navigable. Jangipur is not a very large town, but during the East India company's silk monopoly, it must have been of more consequence than now, as they had here a great depot, or factory, for their silk trade, which now has passed into private hands. There are still here a few good European houses, and a few English residents, principally engaged in the silk, indigo, and sugar trade. The mulberry plants on which the silk worms are fed, are found in great abundance in the districts around, being cultivated by the native farmers and sold to those who keep the worms. These worms are kept and fed in sheds at the factories, a number of them being destroyed by the process of winding off the silk, while the others are kept for the

breed. The worm having wound itself round with the silk which it produces from its own body, becomes a chrysalis, or cacoon and in this state it remains for a time, and then emerges as a white thickesh butterfly, and then becoming in turn a worm, it winds itself round with the silk which it produces from its own body. Those required for breeding are preserved while those off which the silk is wound, are by the process destroyed. The silk wound off is often spun in this neighbourhood, but a great deal is exported in the raw state. This district has been long celebrated for its handkerchiefs and other goods well known in Europe as "Cosimbazar silks."

From Jangipur to the real, or as the natives call it, "The great Ganges," to distinguish it from the Hughli and other branches, the distance might be about twenty miles. Here, in the dry season, there is so little water in the Bhagiratti, that often only one boat can pass at a time, while most of the larger grain boats cannot pass at all. Hundreds must go round by the Sunderbans, while other hundreds have to wait their turns to get through this narrow and rapid strait. Many, however, here change their cargoes into smaller vessels. The clamour and confusion, are such as certainly can be heard no where but on the Ganges. For every one working with his hands, there would seem to be at least twenty working with equal energy with their tongues, giving orders which no one obeys, or calling for help from gods and men, which no one gives. Every one shows perfect soundness of lungs, by bawling with all his might. One vessel runs against another, and both crews salute each other with vollies of abuse. A little boat is crushed between two large ones, and its owner's clamours for redress, are answered with blows and knocks, for not getting out of the way. A big boat heavily laden runs aground, and Rámchandar and all the other gods of the Hindoo pantheon, are invoked to push her off the bank, but will not lend their aid; and there she sticks fast, and blocks up the channel, and every other boat's crew joins in heaping abuse on the luckless mánjhi who has not steered her better. After shoving and pulling, running against each other, breaking the venetians of the budgerow, smashing each other's oars, cutting ropes, to get them

clear of masts, bowsprits &c., till every one is almost *hors de combat*, we emerge, all at once, from this scene of uproar and confusion, and float into deep water, when a loud simultaneous shout of "Gunga mai ki jái,"—"Victory to the merciful Gunga," announces that we are at last in the far famed Ganges, of which, till now, we have seen only some of the off-shoots.

We do not, however, even here, see the whole of the Ganges, at once, as large sand banks, in different parts of the channel, covered with water in the rains, are now dry in the middle, and divide the river into several streams. Over these banks, however, you can see the masts of vessels in other channels, while at a distance on the horizon, a number of large trees can be seen, extending along in an irregular line, and marking the real opposite bank of this great river. Though a great part of this wide space is dry in the other months of the year, in the rainy season it is all covered, with a deep and rapid stream. Even in the dry months, the Ganges is a very large river, but can only at some places be seen all at once, as what are mere shallows in the rains, are then sand banks, sometimes of many miles in extent, or if mud has been deposited on the sand, which is often the case, they form good pasturage for thousands of cattle, or are covered with fertile fields, producing excellent crops of almost every kind of grain. To the larger of these temporary islands, formed by the Ganges, many of the villagers migrate, with their cattle and impliments of husbandry, as soon as the water subsides. There they erect huts of bamboos and mats, or of other meterials of very little value, and easily transported in small boats. In these they live, with their families, during the dry months, and plough, sow, and reap, before the next rains, when they again decamp, and return, with all their property, to the mainland.

Sometimes, however, they stay too long, (as it is the usual practice of the Hndoos of all classes, never to do to-day, what can possibly be postponed till to-morrow) and the river rising with unusual rapidity, in consequence of great and sudden rains in upper India, their frail abodes, as well as their cattle, and occasionally some of themselves, are overwhelmed, and carried down by the

floods. This happens oftenest on the banks, or islands, that are largest and highest, which are consequently not overflowed every year, but only in the seasons when the rains are unusually heavy. On such islands, even large villages of a more permanent description, are often to be seen to exist with impunity for years, and the people, being naturally very apathetic, remain till the last, always trusting that the rise of the river will stop, before it reach the higher spots where their villages are built, and, when it is too late, they have, perhaps, no sufficient means of transport, or it may blow a gale, and many of them perish. But even when they themselves can escape in canoes, they often lose their cattle, almost their only valuable property. One day I saw about three hundred drowned cattle rotting on the bank, that had been thus carried away by a sudden rise in the Ganges. On such occasions the Hindoos, generally, very submissively remark, that "Gunga has had great mercy on them, and taken them away!"

CHAPTER VII.

APPROACH TO HINDUSTAN PROPER.—CHANGE IN THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY.—DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGE AND MANNERS FROM THOSE OF BENGAL.—HINDOO MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD.—TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.—RUINS OF RAJMAHL.—CAVE TEMPLES ON THE GANGES, &c.

From the entrance into the great, or true Ganges, the country is very flat, and if possible, more monotonous and uninteresting than the parts of Bengal already passed, till we come to a range of hills, which may be said to form the boundary, between Bengal and Hindustan. This range of hills terminates on the Ganges, at the town of Rájhmahl, from which this part of it takes its name. The actual boundary between Bengal and Hindustan, is usually placed at the Sikrigalli Pass, which is higher up the river than the town of Rájmahl; and still farther up, the same general range is known by the name of the Bhágulpur hills, so called from the town of Bhágulpur, which is the government station for the district, or, as it would be called in England, the county. Under various names, this range of hills extends across the whole country, from the Ganges to the other side of India, and is the same already noticed, as traversed by the great road from Calcutta to Benares.

Geologists would no doubt say, that at some ancient period, while the whole of Bengal was covered by the sea, the mouth of the Ganges may have been somewhere near the present site of the town of Rájhmahl, and from the peculiar structure of the whole country, such, as it may very naturally be supposed, must have been the case. Below this, the whole country, with the exception of a few spots, that may have been islands of a somewhat more ancient formation, would seem to have been gradually formed by the deposit of the Ganges, as the lower parts of the Sunderbans have been, at a more recent period.

At Rà̀jmahl, however, a complete change takes place in the nature of the country, and after, for a long time, having seen nothing like an eminence of any kind, the traveller again beholds green hills, and solid rocks. The hills here are not, indeed, very high, but one looks on them with interest and pleasure, after having been long tired of the dull and monotonous flatness of Bengal. Not only does the country begin to change its characteristics, but the people are different from those of Bengal, in race, language, and manners. As might, however, be expected, there is a great intermixture of Bengalee and Hindustani, in the language of the people inhabiting these border districts, between the two provinces of Bengal and Bahár. A sort of Hindui is spoken, but it is so mixed with aboriginal, and also with Bengalee words, and so vitiated in pronounciation, as to be scarcely intelligible to a native of the north-western provinces. The Urdú, spoken here, as elsewhere, by the mussulmans, is somewhat purer, but it is also, in some degree, corrupted in pronunciation, and also by the admixture of many Bengalee words and idioms.

Many customs, also, practiced in Bengal, begin, hereabouts, gradually to disappear, though they may be occasionally observed even much farther up the river. One of these, for instance, is the shocking practice of exposing dying persons on the river side, so as not unfrequently to hasten their death. No doubt, instances of this practice occasionally take place in upper India; but all of which I have ever heard, as happening so far up as Benares, were by Bengalees, or at least, by people not natives of the place. So far is it from being the usual custom in Hiudustan, that it is regarded by the people in general, as quite barbarous and disgraceful. Some years ago, a number of Bengalee Hindoos, resident at Delhi, took a dying man to the Jumna, to put his feet into the water, in order that he might there die, and thus, as they believed, secure his salvation. The Hindoos of the place, however, though holding the same superstitious opinion about the sacredness of the river, were so shocked at their cruelty, that they gave the poor Bengalees a good beating, and obliged them to carry the man back, to die at his own house.

The custom of burning the dead is, with a few exceptions, universal among the Hindoos of all castes, though interring is practiced by some tribes, especially in the south of India, and also in the north, by some small sects of Hindoo religionists, generally regarded as heterodox. Some parties, however, who are too poor to pay for a sufficient quantity of wood for the funeral pile, and for the ceremonies to be performed by the Brahmans on the occasion, sink the bodies of their friends in the river. I am not sure but some tribes practice this as their regular mode of sepulture, but I know, that in general, it is caused by poverty, and the rapacious demands of the Brahmans. I have often seen a dead body laid down on the banks of the Ganges, while the Brahmans and the relatives, were fiercely contending, about the amount to be given for performing the obsequies, the former refusing to go on till they were satisfied; and after the ceremonies have been performed, I have seen the Brahmans giving a good thrashing to the heirs and executors, and holding them fast by the collar, or the hair of the head, till they should satisfy their demands, or pay what they had promised. The Brahmans take great care to do nothing without being paid.

The custom of casting dead bodies into the Ganges, and other rivers, occasions a very great nuisance. The bodies, after having been sunk, with stones, or bricks attached to them, in a few days become lighter, after the process of decomposition has begun, and getting disentangled from the weights by which they were at first sunk, float down the river, till, perhaps, they stick fast on some bank, or shallow, where they are devoured by crows, kites, vultures, dogs, and jackals. In some places where a peculiar bend of the river produces an eddying current, which draws every thing into its vortex and then casts it ashore, there is frequently a complete golgotha. The bodies of men, women, and children, of all ages, as well as those of brute animals of all kinds, in every state of decomposition, are thrown into one putrid mass on the bank, partly in, and partly out of the water, and they are to be seen with the birds and beasts of prey gorging themselves on them, snarling and screaming as they drag about the skeletons, and mangled limbs, and entrails, and

fight for their shares in the horrid feast. So much are the people habituated to scenes like this, that, in general, they seem to think nothing of them. A little way below such a spot, you may often see crowds of people, of both sexes, bathing in the river, laughing and joking, some praying, and others singing, scouring their cooking utensils, washing their clothes, or their mouths and teeth, drinking the water, and filling their vessels to carry it home to their houses for domestic use. They say, "Gunga purifies all things." Every day one sees dead bodies floating past, with crows, or kites sitting on them pecking their food; but such is the effect of familiarity, that even European ladies, of the most delicate minds, and of the utmost sensibility of feelings, after a short time, look on such scenes with apparently little emotion, though it is impossible they can ever cease to be most disagreeable.

It is worthy of notice, that the first thing a carrion crow, or other bird of prey, does, in finding a dead body, is to peck out the eyes. Reference is evidently made to this well-known habit of these birds, in Proverbs xxx. 17, "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley (carrion crows,) shall pick it out, and the young eagles (vultures,) shall eat it." A striking and literal fulfilment, or illustration, of this threatening took place, a few years ago, at one of our military stations on the Ganges. A soldier of one of the English regiments, a man of a bad and very dissipated character, one day left the cantonments, to procure liquor in one of the native villages near, where he got quite intoxicated, and, losing his way, strolled into some waste, or uncultivated place, where, falling or lying down, he went fast asleep. The carrion crows seeing him, and, no doubt, taking him for dead, pounced upon him, and at once picked out both his eyes. Of course, he started up, writhing with pain, his drunkenness being instantaneously cured, and groped about, till some one, finding him in this melancholy plight, led him home to the barracks, a fearful warning to his associates in vice. From his character, it is not improbable that his early life may have too much resembled that of the incorrigible son mentioned by Solomon, as doomed to the same fate.

It may, very naturally, be asked, Why are the Hindoos so careless about the disposal of the mortal remains of their friends and relatives? And why it is that they seem to be so little affected on seeing the mangled bodies even of friends with whom they have associated, dragged about and devoured, as common carrion, by beasts and birds of prey? Are they a people entirely destitute of feelings and affections? This is by no means the case. Though, no doubt, they are, in general, a people of very corrupt morals, they are far from being devoid of kindly dispositions. The cause of their paying, in general, so little regard to the bodies of the dead, is, no doubt,, to be found principally in their religion. According to the essential doctrine of Hinduism, the body is not viewed as an important, or necessary, part of the living being, which, they think, continues essentially the same, whatever may be the form or body which it may at any time animate. The body *is not the man*, nor even any *part* of him, necessary to his existence, but rather a prison, or shell, in which his soul is confined, and by which it is deteriorated and demoralized, and its proper action impaired or prevented. Sin is supposed to have its origin and seat in the bodily organs. These are the cause, as well as the instruments, of moral evil, both to gods and men, who, as long as they are in contact with matter, are exposed to the influence of maya, or illusion, which renders them unable to distinguish truth from falsehood, or good from evil. To destroy the influence, therefore, of bodily organs, is the best way to escape from delusion and bondage; and as the body is the chief obstacle to the soul's emancipation from error and sin, its entire destruction is not an evil, but a good. Hence all the different sects of Hindoo devotees, in some way or other, profess to seek after that kind of salvation called mukti, which consists, chiefly, in an entire deliverance from all material influences, and a final absorption of the soul in the divine, or only *essential being*. This is the highest possible kind of salvation. Though the soul, therefore, according to the Hindoos, is immortal, or indestructible, it is not so as a separate being, having a consciousness of individuality, but as an integral portion, or particle, of the universal divine essence. Though

the soul, before being again absorbed into that essence, may be destined to pass through many thousands of births, in the bodies of men, or of other animals, there is no idea of a resurrection, or of its ever again animating the same form, or body. It may rise or sink in the scale of being, as its deeds in any given state may merit, but the same body is not, in any way, to have any future connexion with it. If the soul is to receive a reward for good deeds, it is to be in a body of a higher order than the present one which it inhabits; and if it is to be punished for crimes, it will be in a body of a lower and more inconvenient form.

The body is, therefore, frequently called the grate merely in which the fire burns, or that in which the spirit acts; and when the soul leaves it, its use is for ever at an end, as that of the small grates of clay, made by travellers, merely to light a fire in to cook their evening meal, but which they consider as lumber, too useless to carry with them, and therefore leave behind them when the fire is extinguished, and they proceed on their way. As soon as the spirit quits the body, the connexion between them terminates for ever; but the soul itself, though, by absorption into God, it may cease to have a separate existence, can never essentially cease to be. The body is thus supposed to be nothing more, after the soul leaves it, than a cast-off garment, or than the dead skin of a snake, which is left behind on the ground, while the living reptile creeps from it, and passes on its way.

In speaking of a virtuous man, one of the Hindoo Shasters says, "In his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsman, will remain in his company; his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born, single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds; when he leaves his corse like a log, or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul." The body is here spoken of as a "log, or a lump of clay," for which the kindred of the deceased have no regard. When the soul has departed from it, it has no more relationship to

them than any other "log, or lump of clay," as they have no idea, that their friend will ever again animate the same form. It may, therefore, be thrown away as useless, as well as the dead carcass of any other animal, to become the food of dogs, or of crows.

Viewed by itself, therefore, the body is generally spoken of with great disrespect, by the Hindoos, as a comparatively insignificant part of the compound being called man; or, rather, as no essential portion of him at all, but as a shell, or prison, in which he is, for a time, confined against his will, and by which his faculties are deranged and impaired, in consequence of being obliged to act through its organs, as the motions of a tortoise, or other shell fish, may be supposed to be impeded, or rendered awkward, by its having to carry its house on its back. Hence, suicide, especially, if committed with religious motives, or a desire of emancipation from the influence of fleshly passions, which are believed to arise from contact with matter, is not regarded as sinful, but, on the contrary, to be, in certain circumstances, highly meritorious. The doctrine from which this conclusion is drawn, is very frequently taught in Europe, by preachers and writers of a sentimental turn, but of unquestioned othodoxy. Human passions are attributed to the material body, as if matter could think, but the conclusions drawn by the Hindoo teachers are carefully avoided. It is not allowed, that to destroy the body is the best way to get rid of sin, but the body is so much spoken of as the source and seat of moral evil, instead of being the mere instrument through which the mind acts; and the soul is so much represented as capable of every thing good, were it only freed from the influence of the body, that the consequence freely admitted and inculcated by the Hindoos, would seem naturally to follow—that not merely to macerate the body to weaken the strength of its passions, but even to destroy it, and its organs, altogether, may become a virtue, as to escape entirely from their influence, must be exceedingly desirable. The sentiment naturally arising from this doctrine is expressed in the following passage of the Shasters:—"A mansion with bones for its rafters and beams, with nerves for its cords, with muscles and blood for mortar, with skin for its out-

ward covering, filled with no sweet perfume, but loaded with fœces and urine—a mansion infested with sickness and sorrow, the seat of malady, haunted with the qualities of darkness, incapable of standing long; such a mansion of the vital soul, let its occupier always cheerfully quit."

The transmigration of souls into other bodies, is not among the Hindoos, as it was among the ancient Greeks, who derived it from the East, the mere speculative creed of a few philosophers, or learned men. It is the popular opinion of the common people, and is interwoven with all their other sentiments, and runs through all their fictions, whether in prose or in verse, and all their songs and ballads, whether grave or comic. The absurd relationships that may spring out of it, are subjects of jocular remark and speculation; such as that of a man becoming, in the next birth, his own wife's son by another husband; being married to a woman, who in a former birth, was his own grandmother; or in future becoming his own grandson. Death in fact, is by no means regarded as so great a change by the Hindoos, as it is usually supposed to be by other nations, being nothing more than the casting off of one form, as the butterfly casts off its wings, in order to assume another, which may or may not be more agreeable, but which will be equally transitory! The following paraphrase of a few of the principal sentences of a well known passage in the Hindoo great epic poem, called the "Mahabhárat," illustrates the common doctrine on this subject. The hero Arjun, who is often called Bhárat, was reluctant to engage in the great battle just about to take place, as the leaders on the opposite side, were, for the most part, his own relatives and personal friends, for whom he cherished the greatest respect. The god Krishna, who had to act as his charioteer, seeing Arjun beginning to relent and to shed tears, as he looked on the two armies; and knowing that success depended on the valour of this great hero, addressed him by arguments drawn from the doctrine of the metempsychosis, of which these verses will give some idea:—

Although thy words are like the wise,
Thou mourn'st for whom to mourn is vain,

For 'tis not wise for such to weep,
As may not here return again.

When was the time that I was not?
When were not yonder kings of men?
Nor shall hereafter come the time,
When nought of all shall still remain.

The soul lives on through youth and age,
Its varying forms by turns renewed,
As onward through all time it glides,
With never ceasing life endued.

This living universe was spread,
By him whose being knows no end;
And whose the power that can destroy
The works that on his might depend?

The eternal unimagined soul,
Is wrapt in bodies soon to die?
Its fate is fixed beyond control;
So, Bhárat, on to battle hie!

For who that's wise can ever mean,
The soul to slay, or think it slain?
It is unborn, it never dies,
It lives! unchanged its powers remain!

What boots it, though in battle slain,
Man casts aside his worn out clay,
Like garments old, till, clothed anew,
He starts to life another day?

The soul its mortal shell forsakes,
But soon it finds a newer home;
Form after form it passes through,
Till merged in God, it cease to roam.

By sharpest weapon's point, unpierced,
Untouched by fire's consuming power,
Unmelted by the liquid wave,
Safe, and unhurt, in tempest's hour.

So wherefore mourn for what must be,
Perpetual,—ever wandering on,—
Unseen, unknown, unspeakable?
So judge we those from us who've gone.

The conclusion drawn by the god Krishna, from the above mode of reasoning, is simply this—that as death is nothing more than the laying down of one suit of clothes, now torn, or worn out, in order to put on another, and perhaps a better; there could be little or no harm in killing our best friends, when we have some particularly desirable object, that would be best accomplished by so doing. This doctrine is, therefore, one of the most pernicious tendency, and very much accounts for the fact, that while the Hindoos are, on the whole, a mild and sociable people, and far from destitute of relative affections, they are remarkably indifferent about death in general; and sometimes meet it with great composure in battle, or otherwise, unless when it is attended with great pain, which they are by no means patient in bearing. It also accounts for their being, exceedingly reckless of the lives of others, towards whom they may even bear no enmity.

The town of Rájhmal, which may be said to stand between Bengal and Bahár, was a place of some note during the latter period of the Mogul empire, but is now in a state of decay, for though the ruins are considerable, the present town is small. The principal ruins are those of a summer palace, said to have been built by Sultán Sujáh, brother to the Emperor Aurungzeb, about the year 1630. The remains of mosques and other public buildings, indicate, that it must, at one time, have been a place of importance. Some of the ruins have fallen into the river, having, like many others similarly situated on the Ganges, been undermined by its encroachments.

Near Rájmahl, the Ganges may be considered as about its greatest height, having received nearly all its tributaries, and not yet sent off any of its branches which form the Delta of Bengal. In an ordinary season, when not much swollen by the rains, nor on the other hand, greatly diminished by the drought, it may perhaps, be about a mile and a half wide. In this neighbourhood, I once saw a large Elephant swim across the river, with several persons, besides the driver, on his back. As the current carried him a long way down, before he got to the other side, he could have swam little less, if any, than three miles. He seemed resolved to give the riders a good wetting, for often, as if on purpose, he dived so deep, as to immerse them nearly to the shoulders in the water, while no part of his own body was to be seen above it, but his trunk which he usually elevates when he swims. The Elephant is fond of the water, except when it is cold, and will often lie in it for hours, apparently enjoying it as a luxury, and the same may be said of the Buffaloes, large herds of which are often to be seen, lying at their ease, chewing their cud in the river, or in tanks, having merely their mouths, and the tips of their horns, above the water.

The Ganges, in these parts, abounds with crocodiles. Sometimes I have seen as many as from twelve to twenty, in the course of a day. The most of them were of the small kind; or that of the common alligator; but others are of a larger and differently formed species, said to be the same as that found in the Nile. They are generally to be seen basking in the sun, on sand or mud banks, in the middle of the river, often apparently asleep. They do not move till a boat sometimes has come very near them, and then they turn slowly round and dive into the river, not often showing their heads above the water, till they have gone some distance off. I have not very often seen them on the inhabited banks of the river, but more generally on the sands, at a considerable distance from villages. On one occasion, however, walking along the top of a rather high bank, close by some cultivated fields, near a small town, I heard a sudden splash in the water, as if part of the bank had fallen in. On looking over it, however, to see what was the cause, I observed that it was a

large alligator, which had plunged in, from a little shelving platform under the main bank, near the water's edge, and had just seized, and was in the act of swallowing a large fish named "Rohu," which, from its size and shape, is often called the salmon of the Ganges. The fish was writhing and struggling in the jaws of the monster, but in a moment it was doubled up in his mouth and gulped down, the head disappearing at one side, and the tail at the other. It would seem that he had been lurking for prey, and had seen the fish and plunged in after it, at the very moment that I happened to be passing, without his either having seen me, or I him. This was the nearest view I ever had of a large alligator, and it was too momentary to enable me to form anything like a proper estimate of his size. It illustrates, however, the mode in which a creature so large and voracious, and yet so slow in its movements, obtains his food by destroying fishes, even in their own element, where they are so much more active than himself. He lies lurking quite motionless on the banks of rivers, and being of almost the same colour as the mud, or wet sand, he appears like an inanimate object, till his prey is close by, and within his reach;—when, by one sudden movement, he pounces on it, and at once grasps it in his powerful and well armed jaws, before it is aware of his presence. The action of the common small lizard in catching flies, before they can see that he is a living creature at all, is therefore, on a small scale, precisely the same as that of the crocodile, who, though immensely larger, is a member of the same great family.

From the town of Rájmahl, to Bhágulpur, the range of hills continues still in sight, at some distance from the Ganges. Some of these hills are close on the river, and are easily ascended, in order to have a view of the surrounding country, and of the noble Ganges, here seen to the greatest advantage, especially during the rains, when it is many miles in breadth. These hills do not seem high, but some of them a little inland, are said to be much higher than they appear to be, which must, in fact, be the case, from the great distance at which some of the peaks are visible. On several of those nearest the Ganges, there are the ruins of some old Hindoo

temples, and also various images of the gods carved on the rocks. In one or two places, there are small temples still in use, at which some Brahmans and devotees reside.

It may be noticed here, that the Hindoos are fond of having temples on hills, and in other places difficult of access, and also in situations deeply embowered and shaded by umbrageous trees, especially the *Ficus Indicus*—Indian fig or poplar. There has from the earliest times, been a close connexion between the superstitions of the East, as well as of the west, and the gloomy or inaccessible character of such places. Many of the rites practiced, require concealment, and hence the Israelites were particularly forbidden to plant groves, or to worship in them. There could surely be no great harm in the worshippers performing their devotions under the cooling shade of trees, so grateful in hot countries; but we must seek the cause of the prohibition, in the nature of the worship, usually practised in such places.

The prohibition to worship in groves, would seem to have been unknown in the patriarchal period. Before the giving of the law, we are informed that the pious Abraham, "planted a grove" at Beersheba, "and called there on the name of the Lord." Abraham was possessed of a divine revelation, and the worship performed by him in that grove, was undoubtedly that of Jehovah, according to the rites of his own institution, and not that of any false or inferior deity. The grove, however, was evidently the place consecrated to to this worship; nor does it seem that any objection was made to the planting of groves for this purpose, as long as the worship itself was pure; and even in latter times, the Jews had their proseukhe, or places for prayer, generally surrouded by trees, so that they do not seem to have understood the prohibition to apply to such places, when used for the worship of the true and living God. Some have supposed, that Abraham may have planted the grove merely to shelter his tent; but this is evidently contrary to the whole scope of the passage, in which his worship of Jehovah is most immediately connected with the planting of the grove, and not merely with his settling in the place.

The cause of the prohibition from worshipping in such places that was afterwards given, was, I have no doubt, simply this—that in course of time they were abused, and perverted to the worship of idols, so that ultimately to plant a grove came to mean much the same, as to build an idol temple, or to set up an image; as a close shady grove of wide spreading poplars &c. by which both priests and worshippers might, not merely be sheltered, but in some measure concealed, was what they preferred. Most of the heathen temples, if they were not excavations, in hills or rocks, such as those of Ellora, Elephanta, and other places, though generally on a smaller scale; were purposely built in retired and gloomy places, and rendered dark and obscure, by the shade of umbrageous trees, so that the most abominable rites might be performed with a considerable degree of secrecy, under the mask of devotion to the gods. Both in Egypt and Palestine, in ancient times, as well as in India at the present day, the procreative power was the principal object of worship; and the emblems used and some of the rites that were practised, were of the most indecent and licentious nature. But however degraded the priests and worshippers might be, they still retained as much natural sense of shame or decency, as to prefer conducting their rites in secrecy. Hence they were kept in some degree secret, and called mysteries; and hence, also, most of their temples, if not excavations in the sides of hills, were small structures, overhung, and darkned by umbrageous trees; and as they had no windows, or any other apertures for light, except the door, which was often so small as to admit only one person to enter at a time, and that by stooping down, or creeping, they could not be seen into, by any one from without. In such places prostitution, instead of a vice, was regarded as an act of devotion, being submitted to, in honour of the god; so that even women looked on generally as modest, often frequented them, and freely yielded their persons to the priests, or the male worshippers, in the dark recesses of the temples, where not being seen by each other, there might not afterwards be any mutual recognition. By some of the deluded female votaries, it was sometimes believed that they had, in this way, personal

intercourse with the gods themselves, while others were doubtless, too well aware of the true nature of the system, to be influenced by any thing but their own evil inclinations.

This most abominable system of worship, so accordant with the worst passions of the human heart, was that which, in one form or another, the Israelites were most inclined to, both in the wilderness, and frequently afterwards. During the former period of their history, they were a degraded race, whom a sudden escape from slavery, and dependance, as well as cruel oppression, had left, for a time, without the usual restraints on licentious indulgence; and during the latter period, this was the principal system of religion among nearly all the nations with whom they came into contact. It is probable, indeed, that at one time worshipping in caves, or in the heart of groves of wide spreading trees, such as the Peepul, or Ficus Indicus, in the East, and the Oak in the west, was almost universal. The former is still sacred in India, as the oak was in ancient Europe, and is often mentioned in scripture, as the poplar, under which they sacrificed to idols. There is scarcely a village on the banks of the Ganges, or elsewhere in India, where one or more of these trees may not be seen, with various idols placed around their roots, before which, offerings of rice, flowers, sweet meats, &c. are daily presented, and on which water is poured, as a libation; while almost every Hindoo temple is shaded by these noble looking trees, by which both priests and worshippers, are protected from the rays of the sun. Whatever other images may be placed under them, the emblem of the productive power, the obscene object of worship, in ancient Palestine, as well as in modern India, is sure to be there. It was no doubt, the worship of such objects, that is mentioned in the 25th chapter of Numbers, as having brought the great plague, on the Israelites, by which, they were so severely punished, and of which, they were afterwards so often reminded, when they fell into similar practices.

The prohibition from worshiping on mountain tops, is generally refered to the worship of the sun, whose temples are supposed to have been usually situated on lofty hills. I strongly suspect, how-

ever, that the prohibition does not always refer so much to idolatrous rites, practised on the actual *tops* of mountains, although, such may be included, as to those carried on, in caverns, or temples, hewn out of rocks, generally situated far up the sides of steep hills, difficult of access. There is abundant evidence, in almost every range of hills in India, and other eastern countries, that this was, in ancient times, one of the most common modes of worship. Some of the caverns were probably natural, and others artificial, or,at least, enlarged, and adapted to use, by art. In the hills on the Ganges, there are many such caves, some of which are still in use, as temples. I have crept into some of them, and also into several at other places, and have generally found the fragments of many old broken idols, along with some whole ones, still worshipped. The door is generally so small, as to admit but one person, at a time, who must sometimes crawl in, on his hands and knees; but in the inside, there is a considerable excavation. Into one of them in these hills, they say, an ancient Rája, with ten thousand men entered, but never found his way back, so that he and his followers are supposed to have reached the infernal regions. I went once into the same cave, but could see no passage, leading down to "Pluto's dark abodes," and though it was too dark for me to see the exact limits of the cavern, it seemed to be but small. I have been in two other small caverns, of the same nature in the Bindhyachal hills, within a few miles of the city of Mirzapur, one of which is sacred to Debi, and the other to Káli. They all appear, to be more or less artificial, and most of them have small temples attached to them, built on terraces, formed on the sides of the hills. From the many fragments, and old ruins, broken idols, imperfect inscriptions, and carvings of various kinds, there can be little doubt, but they are places of great antiquity. At certain seasons, they are frequented by a considerable number of pilgrims from a distance, as well as by many of the people of the neighbouring towns and villages. Some of these places, though now of little consequence, were probably, once of much importance, and are mentioned in some of the ancient Hindoo books. It is not unlikely that they may, at first, have been the

abodes of priests, or ascetics, by whom the neighbouring districts may have been converted to Hinduism, which, probably, took place only after the conversion of many other parts of the country; or, their origin as religious places may have been even still more ancient. Of this, however, there seems to be no evidence, as the emblems found here are Brahmanical, and not Budhist, which they would most likely have been, had they been used for religious purposes, during the time that Budhism was the dominant religion of Bahár, which it no doubt was till not long before the Christian era, if not even to a later period.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWN OF COLGONG.—TIGER HUNTING.—BHAGULPUR.—ROCKS AND TEMPLES OF JANGHIRA.—VERSES DESCRIPTIVE OF EVENING AND MORNING SCENES ON THE GANGES.—HOT SPRINGS OF SEETAKUND.—MONGHER.—EARTHQUAKES, &c.

Some distance above Rájmahl, is the Sikrigalli Pass, generally regarded, as the boundary between Hindustan and Bengal. Here on several occasions, battles have been fought, but generally without succes, in defence of the fertile province of Bengal, against the more warlike nations of the north-west, by whom it has been so often overrun and plundered. There is no town of any consequence here, and the first place where there is a considerable bazár, is Colgong, in the vicinity of which, there are some European houses, principally occupied by Indigo Planters. The hilly country inland, used to be much infested with tigers and other wild animals. It is highly probable that they are now much thinned out, as a number of the gentleman in these parts, have the reputation of being active and successful tiger hunters.

In such places however, tiger hunting, is by no means an easy or safe amusement, and there must be many spots among these uncultivated hills, in which such animals may easily live, and breed, beyond the reach of danger from human assailants. It is the well known habit of the tiger to creep stealthily towards his prey, under the cover of the jungle brushwood, or long grass, which, in India, often grows to upwards of ten feet in height, till he gets sufficiently near to be able to secure it, by springing on it with one bound. This habit, joined to his amazing strength, ferocity, and suddenness of motion, renders him by far the most formidable of all the beasts of prey; not excepting the lion, who has neither his cunning, nor quickness of action, and more readily exposes himself to the fire of the hunter, and is consequently more easily destroyed. The tiger,

however, though he springs very suddenly, and to a great distance, does not spring to any considerable height, but rather skips along the ground, unless where he may have the advantage of an elevation. In order, therefore, to be somewhat above his usual power of springing, and to be better able to get a shot at him, by beating up the jungle, and raising him from his lair, without a great deal of personal danger, the gentlemen fond of tiger hunting, usually go out mounted on Elephants, trained for the purpose. Equipped in this way, and armed with good double barrled guns, they are, for the most part, an overmatch for him, unless when some untoward event takes place, such as the elephants being alarmed and becoming unmanageable. One is sometimes, however, met with, when the parties are not so well prepared, and then the danger is very great.

A gentleman, who once lived for some time in this district, informed me, that on one occasion he went out, with some friends, to shoot birds, or other small game, but without having any idea of a tiger hunt. They had, therefore, nothing but fowling-pieces, loaded with small shot. At one place in the jungle he happened to have gone some little distance in advance of the rest of the party, when all at once, he was brought to a stand, by coming on a large tiger which seemed ready to spring at him from a thicket. Having his gun in his hand, he fired it off almost instinctively, but whether or not he hit the tiger was of little moment, as the small shot, with which it was loaded, could have done him little, if any harm. The tiger immediately sprung at him with fury; but, before it reached him, he had presence of mind to grasp the barrel of his gun with both his hands, and hold it firmly out between him and his enemy, so as to break the shock. The tiger coming on with a bound, caught the barrel in his teeth; but the force of his onset threw the gentleman over, who still clung to the gun. The tiger, with his teeth firmly clenched on the barrel, rolled over above him; and, as they were on the brink of a ravine, they both fell in, and, tumbling over each other, alighted among some stones and brushwood at the bottom. The fall startled the tiger, and he at once let go his hold, and ran in among the bushes; but, before he had recovered his sur-

prise, the gentleman had time to get up, having received only a few scratches in his fall. He did not wait to look what had become of his enemy, but scrambled up the bank as fast as he could, and escaped to his friends, who had seen his danger, but could not help him, as his position had been such, that they could not attempt to fire at the tiger, lest they should kill their own companion. The whole affair had, also, passed so suddenly, that it was over before they could recover their presence of mind. After having all loaded with ball, they succeeded in shooting the tiger, who was lurking among the brushwood, in the bottom of the ravine. I received this anecdote from the gentleman himself, and had it afterwards corroborated by a relative of his—one of our missionaries—who assured me that the gun still bears the marks of the tiger's powerful teeth.

I have heard a great many strange stories of tiger hunting in these parts, but many of them are by no means well authenticated. The extent, however, to which hunting is carried on must have greatly reduced their number, or at least driven them farther in among the hills. At all events, they are not, except on very rare occasions, likely to come near the river; for, though the district is not so populous on the side of the Ganges nearest the hills, as on the other, there are too many people frequenting it, to leave it as a suitable haunt for wild animals of the larger kinds.

The town of Bhágulpur stands on a range of heights, along the southern bank of the Ganges, and is the government station for the district which bears its name. The river here is divided into several branches, with islands and sand banks between them. Bhágulpur is on the most southerly branch of the river, not in general navigable, except during the rains, though it seems as if, at one time, it had been the main stream. The town itself is by no means compact, but looks rather like a row of separate villages, with the houses of the principal European functionaries, and a few other buildings, both public and private, interspersed. Near the town, there are also cantonments for a regiment of mountaineers, raised from among the neighbouring hill tribes, for the protection of the district. These people used to be troublesome, by coming down to plunder the

plains; but the government of India adopted the policy by which, at last, the highland clans of Scotland were transformed from rebels into useful subjects, and enlisted these thieves and robbers into its own service, forming them into a local regiment, whose chief employment was to keep the rest in order. I am not sure whether or not this regiment has now been disbanded, but, at one time, it was very useful in checking the marauding disposition of the hill tribes.

These mountaineers are still in a very uncivilized state. Some of them come down to traffic, on the banks of the Ganges, and most of those whom I have seen, were selling bows and arrows, jars of honey, &c., taking either money or other articles in exchange, from parties passing in boats. The Rev. Mr. Leslie, formerly of Mongher, and some others, have made several attempts to introduce the gospel among them, and a few individuals, have been converted to Christianity, but much difficulty has been experienced in reaching them, owing to the unhealthiness of the narrow valleys among the hills, in which most of them live. They are, for the most part, a simple race of people, differing in many respects, from the more regular Hindoos, inhabiting the plains. They are poor and ignorant, and almost beyond the pale of civil society, or the reach of regular government. They pay but few taxes, and get little or no protection, unless what is secured to them by their own habits and customs, or the immemorial usages of their tribes. The different families of gypsies, to be met with in most parts of India, and called, generally, Kanjar, are usually regarded, by the natives, as off-shoots from these hill tribes. If in this they are correct, even the gypsies of Europe, may not improbably be traceable to the same origin, as there is an evident relationship among all such tribes, from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Tagus, or of the Thames. The true gypsies found in Europe, have the same general habits and pursuits, and even, to a large extent, the same language, as those of India, of whom the hill tribes, or aborigines of Hindustan, would seem to be the parent stock, though no part of this singular race of wanderers, can be regarded as pure. They were not known in Europe, till about the middle of the fifteenth century,

or at least they attracted but little attention. They undoubtedly came from the East, and, in fact, have always been believed, to be an oriental race, and as even retaining a connexion with other branches of the same family, still in eastern countries. According to Pasquier, in his "Recherches Historiques," they appeared in Paris, in the character of pilgrims, or penitents, in the year 1427. They were more than a hundred in number, and were under chiefs, who called themselves counts. They obtained leave to settle, having said that they were Christians, who had been driven out of Egypt by the Muhammadans.

They had appeared, however, in Germany before they came into France, and having come through Bohemia, the French called them Bohemians. This name, however, has, by some, been derived from the old French word *boem*, signifying a Saracen. By the Germans, however, who knew that they were not Bohemians, they were called Ziganaar, or wanderers; by the Danes and Swedes they were regarded as Tartars, a name commonly given by Europeans to the nations of north-eastern Asia, but unknown in the east, except as used in its proper sense, of robber. The Dutch called the gypsies Heiden, or Heathen, the Italians named them Zingari. In the Levant generally, they were called Tchingenes, in Spain, Gitanos, or Gentiles. A general idea has always prevailed in Europe, that they came from Egypt, which, no doubt, at first arose from their own statements, when they found it very desirable to represent themselves, as Egyptian Christians, suffering from persecution, in order to obtain favour in the eyes of Europeans, at a period when their lives would not have been safe, had they told that they were heathen wanderers. Those of them, however, who are to be found in Egypt, are there looked on as strangers, quite distinct from the natives of that country. Dr. Wilson of Bombay conversed with a tribe of them in Palestine, and found that they understood him when he spoke in one of the dialects of Western India, though themselves ignorant of their Indian origin. They abound also in Walachia, Moldavia, and Besarabia; in which countries they are often settled, and lead a more regular life than they generally do

in other parts of the world. They are found likewise in Russia, as far to the north-eastward as Tobolsk, and in fact in every country, from Spain to China; but not only their personal appearance, but even their language, which is composed, to a large extent, of Hindustani words, and their customs of caste, &c. clearly prove them to be from India, where they much abound, and are said by the Brahmans to consist of a number of tribes, or castes, either of pure mountaineer origin, or, at least, originating in a connexion between the hill tribes and those of the more regular Hindoos. It has been estimated by the learned Grellman, that they amount to between seven hundred and eight hundred thousand, in Europe, of whom about forty thousand, are to be found in Spain, especially in the south, where they have probably become much intermingled with the descendants of the Moors. No means of information exists as to their number in India, but their encampments are to be seen in the neighbourhood of every large town, and often in the more remote parts of the country. The Hindoos say that there are ten tribes, or castes, of them, in general traceable to illicit connexions between the Hindoo castes, and the hill tribes. It is a wonder that no one has yet attempted to identify them with the ten lost tribes of Israel. I would recommend them to the attention of those who think that ten of these tribes have been lost, and are still to be found. I endeavoured to obtain some of their own traditionary accounts of their origin, and also of their manners and customs, through some of the elders, or headmen of their tribes, but ill health prevented me from pursuing my enquiries, farther than to ascertain their own account of their descent, which, as above stated, they derive from the hill tribes of India, and their general modes of life, which are much the same as those of the gypsies of Europe. The Hindoos say that they eat jackals, bullocks, horses, and vermin of various kinds, but this they generally deny, though, to some extent, it is perhaps true.

The European residents of Bhágulpur have been very exemplary in their endeavours to keep up the worship of God, and to promote Christian institutions for the benefit of the heathen around. In this they have been led chiefly by the principal resident, —— Brown,

Esq., commissioner for the district, who has contributed, with great liberality, to the building of a church, and the support of a clergyman at the station, as well as to other important Christian objects. This gentleman is son to the well known Rev. D. Brown, the friend and coadjutor of Henry Martyn, and one of the first and most successful instruments, under God, in introducing the gospel of Christ into northern India. Mr. Brown has long held the office at Bhágulpur, which he still occupies, and has been of great use to the station. The clergyman here is the Rev. Mr. M'Callum. He came out to India some years ago, in connexion with some individuals holding the sentiments of the Plymouth brethren; but has since changed his mind, and joined the Church of England. He was ordained by Bishop Wilson, and is now chaplain to the few English residents at Bhágulpur, but whether he has any part of his support from government, or not, I am uncertain.

Between Bhágulpur and Mongher, the distance is about forty miles in a direct course, but much more by the windings of the river. There is no place of any great importance to be met with in this district, on either bank of the Ganges, though the country is covered with a large population, chiefly of Hindoos. On the south side of the river, though at some distance from it, there is a continuation of the same range of hills formerly noticed. On the north, the districts of Dinajapur and Purnea form a dead level of considerable extent, stretching from the Ganges to the lower range of the Hamalaya mountains, on which, at a place called Darjeeling, a station has been formed within the last few years, to which Europeans, principally from Calcutta, and other parts of Bengal, occasionally retire for their health, instead of taking a sea voyage, or returning to Europe. Between the Ganges and the lower Hamalaya range, the country is fertile, but low and damp. It is everywhere intersected by small rivers, which descend from the mountains and fall into the Ganges. Some of these are large enough to be navigable in the rains, but not generally so in the dry season.

Somewhat farther up the country, the districts, between the Ganges and the lower Hamalaya, or, as they may here be denomi-

nated, the Nepál mountains, are called by the general name of Tirhoot, the Mithila of the ancient Hindoos, once an important kingdom, and celebrated in Hindoo mythology. Tirhoot is one of the finest, and most productive districts in India, being remarkable for abundance of sugar, indigo, and also, of almost every description of grain. There are many European factories scattered over the country, for the cultivation or purchase of these, and other articles of commerce, for exportation. About half way between Bhágulpur and Mongher, there is an interesting and picturesque place called Janghira. Here, a romantic rock, with a temple surmounting it, sacred to Mahadeo, stands in the middle of the river, while, on the mainland, and close to the small town, there is another hill of the same kind, on which, also, there is a number of religious edifices, of various dates and descriptions. Some of these are modern, but others are, evidently, of some antiquity. The place seems, for a long period, to have enjoyed the reputation of being the residence of holy devotees. There are not many of such here now, and those who remain, are spoken of, by the boatmen on the river, as any thing save indifferent to the good things of this life, being much taken up about secular affairs. I was once told, but cannot vouch for its truth, that the principal devotee, or Faqeer, residing at the temple on the rock, instead of being merely dependant on the alms of the worshippers, has several thousands of cattle grazing on the small islands, and low grassy flats, along the river, in this neighbourhood. On the top of the hill, on the mainland, there is an inclosure containing a number of tombs, which the people say are those of holy men, who have lived as religious devotees at this place, as part of it is consecrated to the Muhammadan religion, and the rest to that of the Hindoos. The romantic character of the place would seem to have overcome the aversion of the Muhammadans from contact with idolators. Janghira is mentioned in some old Muhammadan books, as having, in former times, been the abode of some very holy men, who cured diseases, and worked great wonders, not merely by their prayers, but by supernatural powers of a very questionable origin, and are said to have had certain talismans,

by the influence of which, they could employ the agency of demons, to aid in the accomplishment of their purposes. Thousands of people, therefore, even from distant countries, are said to have flocked to Janghira to be healed. Perhaps some of the ascetics, who, at different times, have lived here, may have been possessed of a portion of medical skill, a thing very usual with men of this class, in consequence of which, they acquired the fame of having performed supernatural cures, which were attributed to their piety, and knowledge of occult arts, and to intercourse with, and power over demons. Among rude and ignorant nations, medical skill is generally transferred from one to another as a profound secret, and is very often employed by those who are possessed of it, not so much for the relief of their fellow creatures, as to give colour to claims of religious superiority, or to the assertion of a divine right to direct and rule over other men, or to receive from them homage, as beings of a mysterious character, having influence over, and intercourse with the unseen world.

When last I saw Janghira, the river had thrown up so much sand and mud, between the island and the mainland, that the former seemed likely to be soon permanently joined to the latter. Such changes of the channel, are often, however, merely temporary, and before this time, the Gunga may have resumed its wonted course. On this part of the river the traffic is very great, perhaps greater than on almost any other part of its course; and the scenes on its banks in the evenings, and mornings, are very interesting, and peculiarly illustrative of the habits of the people of India. In the course of an hour, a temporary town seems to arise, and where a solitary cow-herd or two might have been seen a little before, hundreds of people are congregated and a scene of uproar and confusion ensues, as party after party arrives and commences a contention with those who had come before, for room to moor their boats, and light fires to cook their suppers. At first, they are all hungry, and, therefore, all angry, and contend furiously for the best places, which are generally secured, not so much by the crews of the first come boats, as by those of the largest, who, as they have might on their side,

are not over particular about the question of right; as who would be, who has had no dinner, and little breakfast, and is in a hurry to get on the pot to boil his supper? Some scores of large boats are soon drawn up, and the multitudes of boatmen, and their passengers, light their fires, and their pipes at the same time. Pots of rice and curry are soon put on, and cakes are kneaded and placed round the fires to toast. Good humour begins to prevail, as the near prospect of a hearty meal spreads its humanizing influence, over the swarthy countenances, now lighted up at once by the blazing fires, and the beams of hope. When once the supper is ready, it is served round, each getting his portion by himself, in a small dish of his own, if they are Hindoos, but if Muhammadans they all eat out of the same dish, each man plunging his hand in, up to the knuckles. This custom of the Muhammadans is regarded as an abomination by the Hindoos, who are very particular in not eating any thing touched by the fingers of another, unless it is dry, or uncooked. The quantities eaten by the boatmen to supper, are sometimes so great as to seem incredible; and they appear to go on the principle of the boa constrictor, to remain nearly immoveable during the process of digestion. Most of them continue, however, to sit, or lounge round the fires on the bank, especially in the fine moonlight nights, smoking their hukkas till past midnight, while some sing and play on rude instruments, till all their audience is asleep, and snoring aloud, and themselves apparently almost unconscious of what they are singing, or saying. At dawn, however, they are all in motion again, and as noisy as ever.

The following verses may give some idea of an evening and morning scene on this part of the Ganges :—

Where old Janghira's spire ascends,
And Gunga's rolling waters flow,
And tall palmyras o'er its tide,
Their lengthened evening shadows throw.

There, Mahadeo's ancient fanes,
Their tridents brig t to heaven upraise,

And distant peaks of Curruk hills,
Reflect the sun's last setting rays.

Along the banks of Gunga's stream,
The weary boatmen light their fires,
And clustering round in social bands,
"Rehearse the stories of their sires."

From brazen pots the steams ascend,
The cheerful song is trolled aloud,
The Gosain strikes his light guitar,
And draws around the wondering crowd.

The Moslem's evening prayer is o'er,
The Brahman's shell has ceased its sound,
The gong's loud chime is heard from far,
While fire flies glancing flit around.

Here, merchants, come from far Cashmere,
There, pilgrims, bound for pure Hardwár,
With devotees from Káshi's fanes,
Or Baijnáth's shrine in fair Bahár.

Around their mess of rice and pulse,
Are ranged the sons of soft Bengal,
The cheerful Ghoorkas turn their cakes,
And chaunt the lays of sweet Nepál.

The haughty Brahmans sit apart,
Their sacred circle drawn around,
Nor men, nor dogs, must near approach,
Since all they touch is holy ground.

With various rites, and sacred texts,
They cook and eat their simple meal,
Then legends old, and rhymes repeat,
Till midnight darkness o'er them steal.

Of gods, and men, confusedly mixed,
Full many a wondrous lay is sung,
With hymns, and scraps of ancient verse,
"Like orient pearls at random strung."

With songs of classic Bindraban,
On Jumna's banks, that stretches far,
For Krishna's youthful gambols famed,
And early scenes of sylvan war.

How, ere the giant Kans was doomed,
Beneath the god's own hand to fall,
He wandered free, a shepherd boy,
And sported as the gay Gopál.

How deep in Jumna's waters pressed,
He crushed to death the demon snake,
How on his finger poized aloft,
He heav'd Gobardhan's mountain brake.

When thick o'er Gokull's fated land,
Proud Indra poured his clouds and rains,
His worship changed, for mountain god's,
His wrath incensed by ruined fanes.

The burning mountain drank the floods,
Poured by the rain god from above,
While milkmaids gay, and shepherd youths,
In safety sung of Krishna's love,

Till Indra regent of the skies,
In Krishna's presence humbly bends,
And owns him god of gods and men,
The Lord on whom all power depends.

At length, the circling groups are still,
Along the decks they sink to rest,

While rippling waters smoothly glide,
And moonbeams play on Gunga's breast.

No voice is heard along the banks,
Save cricket's chirp, or watchman's call,
Or whirring bat, or prowling dog,
Or distant yell, of loathed jackal.

But soon aurora streaks the east,
The moon sinks down the western skies,
The night owl screams his parting note,
And straight to hoary ruins flies.

The various groups that sunk to rest,
Along broad Gunga's sandy shores,
Their morning orisons repeat,
And clamoring grasp their bamboo oars.

With shouts of "Jái Jái Gunga Jí!"*
The Hindoos spread their fluttering sails,
"Ullallah" shout the Moslems loud,
And cheerful woo the morning gales.

While favouring breezes gently blow,
And Gunga's current glides along,
High on the decks reclined at ease,
They pass their time in tale and song.

There is nothing of peculiar interest from Janghira to Mongher, a considerable town on the western bank of the Ganges. Mongher is an ancient place, and bears evident marks of having been formerly of

* In commencing a voyage, or starting, in the morning on the Ganges, the Hindoos always shout out "Jái Jái Gunga ji," or words of the same import, meaning, Victory to Gunga, being a sort of invocation to the godess Gunga to be with them. The Muhammadans in India, as every where else, shout out their favourite declaration, "Allah, ulallah,"—"God is God," either with or without the addition "and Muhammad is the prophet of God."

more consequencce than it is now, and in all probablity, it was once large and well fortified. The space within the walls is of considerable extent, but some parts of it are now quite destitute of buildings. Many edifices are still to be seen in it, either entirely or partially, in a ruinous state; but the principal town is outside the walls, and may be said to consist of several large villages, or suburbs, in which are the chief bazárs. The population, I have heard, is estimated at about thirty thousand, but like that of most other Indian towns, it has, most probably, never been carefully enumerated. It is generally considered rather a healthy place, and is agreeably situated on ground much above the usual level of the country around. Some of the houses of the English residents are built upon hills in the neighbourhood, from which a good prospect is obtained, especially of the river, which in the rains, is here of great breadth, and from the number of vessels constantly passing, forms an interesting object. The people of Mongher are more ingenious in several mechanical arts than most of the other people in these parts of India. They make good furniture, and fabricate various articles of hardware, such as knives, swords &c. Straw hats, and baskets made here, are usually regarded, as not inferior, in general, to those of Europe. A considerable amount of business in these and other articles, seems to be carried on about the Ghâts at the river side. There do not seem to be many natives of much rank, or property, resident in Mongher now, though it is likely from the appearance of the place, that there were more of these classes formerly. After the battle of Plassey, Meer Kasim, the son of Jaffier Khân, made it his residence, to prevent his intrigues from being watched by the English at Mûrshidabad, and consequently drew around him other malcontents belonging to the more powerful Muhammadan families, till all chance of their regaining their former ascendancy was lost by the consolidation of the British power, in northern India.

Mongher has been a station of the Baptist missionary society, since about the year 1816, when operations were commenced, I believe, by Mr. Chamberlin. When I first visited the station, in 1831, the Rev. Mr. Moore, one of the oldest missionaries of the Baptist society

was here, but was engaged, for the most part, in English duties, while the Rev. A. Leslie, now of Calcutta, a very active and efficient missionary, was engaged principally in preaching among the natives, both in the town and the surrounding country. The present missionaries are, Messrs. Lawrance and Parsons. They preach in English to the European residents, who are not now so numerous as they were, in consequence of the removal of a body of pensioners who used to be quartered here; and also to the natives in Hindustani, besides which, they carry on a considerable work by itinerating among the villages, and sometimes among the hill tribes in the neighbouring range of mountains. They have several chapels and schools. I do not, however, know how many native Christians they have now in connexion with their mission, but have undersood, that they have three native preachers, and that their success, in general, has been as encouraging as at most other stations.

The position of this mission is favourable for reaching the hill tribes, but the unhealthiness of the districts in which they live, has been found to be a great obstacle in the way of Europeans going among them, nor is it much less difficult for the natives of the plains, except at certain seasons.

Some of the hills in the vicinity of Mongher are volcanic, and earthquakes are very common. One very severe shock took place once, when I was not far from Mongher, but as I was sleeping in a boat on the river, I was not aware of anything peculiar, except that during the night, which was very calm and sultry, I heard a strange rushing noise of the water dashing against the bank. Afterwards I attributed this to the undulating motion caused by the earthquake, but should not likely have thought of it, had I not heard that such a phenomenon had occured about the same time. On reaching Mongher a few days after, I learned that many houses had been greatly damaged, and among the rest, the Baptist Mission House, the walls of which, had in some places, been rent through. The people of the town had all run out of their houses, expecting them to fall.

The natives here, as well as in most other parts of India, have a

strange notion respecting the cause of earthquakes. Not merely the common people, but even many of the Brahmans, and others of the better classes, think the shaking of the earth is caused by Shesh Nág the great serpent, on whose head they suppose the earth is supported, getting occasionally drowsy, and beginning to nod. When an earthquake, therefore, takes place, they all rush out of their houses,—beat drums, blow horns, ring bells, and shout as loud as they are able, in order to rouse this snake atlas, to prevent the melancholy catastrophe that would necessarily take place were he to fall fast asleep, and let the world tumble off his head. Many are, no doubt, puzzled to find out the cause why the whole earth does not shake at once; but the vulgar, in general, never trouble themselves any more about the matter than to make all the noise they are able, when that part of the earth on which they happen themselves to be, seems to have lost its equilibrium. Among the more intelligent, there is little real faith in this cause, though asigned by some of the Shasters, for earthquakes, but they make very little effort to disturb the common belief of the people, though they may sometimes laugh at the absurdities into which it leads them.

About four miles inland from Mongher, there is a celebrated hot spring called Seetakund. Here, a considerable stream of hot water issues from the ground, among some rocky hills apparently of volcanic origin. The place derives its name from the chaste Seeta, the wife of Rám, the favourite deity of the north-western Hindoos, but the ordinary legend connected with it, has escaped my memory. One of the Brahmans of the place, however, told me, that on some important occasion, the hot spring first appeared at the command of Seeta, and hence its name of Seetakund, or Seeta's Pond. The temperature of the water varies considerably. When I visited the well, it was about as hot as one could bear, were he to bathe in it, but not having a thermometer with me, I was unable to ascertain its exact temperature. The hills near Seetakund have every appearance of being volcanic, and the unusual frequency of earthquakes in the neighbourhood, has led occasionally to the apprehension of an irruption again breaking out. Like every other uncommon object in nature,

the hot spring at Seetakund is regarded with superstitious veneration by the Hindoos, and, as usual, is made a profitable speculation of by the Brahmans. Many visit it from a distance, to perform their devotions, and be purified by its waters, and a village and several temples have been erected near, and a considerable number of Brahmans are settled around it, who, like their brethren in other places, are very zealous in collecting contributions from the people. Most of the Brahmans seemed grossly illiterate, so that when I offered them tracts, they said none of them could read. This may not be true of them all, but no doubt it is so of most of them.

I was told by a friend in Mongher, that, on one occasion, a deputation from a missionary society in England, visited this spot in passing, and not being able to speak to the Brahmans in their own language, one of them gave them an address in French. After he had done, no one having understood a word of what he had said, one of the Brahmans was heard saying to some of the others,—"He speaks very good Sanscrit!" Though they often pretend to know their own sacred tongue, and can always repeat a few words and phrases, their actual knowledge of it is often about equal to that which they possess of Chinese, or French, or any other language whatever. Of all the Brahmans, those acting as priests at such places, are generally the most ignorant; but many of them will quote a little Sanscrit, when they think there is no one present who knows it, or is likely to press them for a translation. If they can merely repeat a few verses by rote, the people give them credit for being men of learning. The more learned of the Brahmans are called Pandits, and are scarcely ever found acting as priests about temples, though often to be met with in them, as worshippers. They give themselves to study and teaching, and to the management of secular affairs, or matters of law; and especially to whatever requires a knowledge of Sanscrit literature; but the Brahmans who are connected with the temples, and other places of superstitious resort, are, for the most part, a set of low, ignorant, and greedy rascals, who will not work, and are not ashamed to beg. Their rapacity is

unbounded, and from some of the more helpless of the poor creatures, who often come from a great distance to worship at the more celebrated shrines, they frequently extract all the money that they have brought with them, for the expenses of their journey, not merely by working on their ignorant weaknesses, but by insulting and abusing them, till they give up their little all, so as to leave themselves under the necessity of begging their way home. Even then, when not satisfied, they will dismiss their victims with the assurance, that the god whom they have been worshipping, will not be propitious to them, till they have returned, and given more money to the Brahmans.

Their demands are made according to what they think to be the rank, or wealth, of the worshipper. An acquaintance of mine, a native Rája, living at Benares, went some years ago, to the great temple of Gaya, in Bahár, along with his lady, who being a very orthodox Hindoo, and much under the influence of the Brahmans, wished to make a pilgrimage, to that celebrated shrine. He had no great faith in Hinduism himself, and said he went only on account of his wife. She worshipped, and gave liberally to the Brahmans, but he did not care much about the matter, and spent his time in visiting about the neighbourhood. He wished however, as he was there, to go in, and see the temple, but before they would let him enter it, the Brahmans insisted on having from him, no less a sum, than ten thousand rupees, about a thousand pounds sterling, though hundreds of other people, were being allowed to go in for nothing. He declared that they should have no more money from him, save what they had got from his wife, and came away, without seeing the idol, and was, therefore, denounced by them, as an infidel, or Christian. He said, that they tied up some of the people, in the temple, and would not let them go, till they had satisfied their demands. Of course, the poor cannot give them much; but the sums squeezed from the rich, are often very great, so that the performance of religious rites, which it is considered a family disgrace to neglect, is attended with enormous expense, to all who are possessed of rank, or respectability, in native society. The introduc-

tion of Christianity, even in an economical point of view, would be of immense advantage to the people of India; for its support would be as nothing, compared to the drain which Hinduism makes on their temporal resources, independantly of the vast amount of time, which its useless cerimonies, and long pilgrimages, necessarily consume.

CHAPTER IX.

PROVINCE OF BAHAR.—PRACTICES OF THIEVES, ROBBERS AND RIVER THUGS.—MANNERS AND HABITS OF THE PEOPLE.—NATIVE MODES OF TRAVELLING.—TRADE AND AGRICULTURE.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.—MODE OF PROTECTING THE CROPS.—FLIGHTS OF LOCUSTS, &c.

After leaving Mongher, we continue to pass through a very fine, closely peopled, and well cultivated country, on both banks of the Ganges. This portion of the province of Bahár, is not perhaps excelled in fertility, by any part of India, or of any other country. As we have before remarked, the country here between the northern bank of the Ganges, (for its avarage course, in these parts is about from west to east,) is called Tirhoot, and extended to the lower range of the Hamalaya mountains, or that hilly region, forming the kingdom of Nepál, of which the capitel is Khatmandu. Nepál though reduced to smaller dimensions, by its last war with the English, is still possessed of independance as a kingdom, though an independance of a somewhat questionable nature; and forms a sort of barrier between the British dominions, and those of China. The district of Tirhoot, between the Ganges and Nepál, in ancient times, was the principal portion of the Hindoo kingdom of Mithila, which from its celebrity in the legends of Hindustan, would seem for long to have been a powerful state, to which many others, were often in feudal subjection.

Like the Normans of Europe, the military castes, or dominant races in India, contented themselves with reducing the Rájas, or chiefs, whom they conquered, to the state of tributaries, or vassals; who still retained full authority, in their own territories, but rendered homage and military service, when required by the Rája, who by conquest or otherwise, had become their Lord paramount, who often, like the Persian monarchs, whose empire was founded

on the same principle, assumed the title of king of kings. This ascendancy, however, was acknowledged only, as long as the Rája claiming it, was able to assert it by his prowess in war. Like their distant relatives, the Normans of Europe, the Khatrias of India, belonged, strictly speaking, to no province, or district, in the country, though they abounded most in the north-west, as they do still; but lived as adventurers, wherever they could find military employment; and if they succeeded in carving out a principality any where with their swords, they continued to hold it by the same tenure, never dreaming of any other right of possession being needed, till obliged to succumb to some more powerful chief, generally of the same race. Under them, again, the less powerful chiefs held estates, as Zamindars, or land holders, by the same sort of military tenure. While the powerful kingdom of Mithila occupied most of the country from the borders of Bengal on the east, to the frontiers of Ayodya, or Oude, on the west, along the southern, or north-eastern bank of the Ganges; the kingdom of Magadh or Bahár, was long established on the opposite, or south-western bank, but how far it extended into the more hilly districts of central India, is uncertain. Many of those parts of the country were, in all probability, in ancient times, as they are partially still, inhabited by uncivilized tribes, who paid little respect to any regularly established government, though often employed, as rude auxiliaries, in the numerous wars which agitated the plains. The capital of the kingdom of Magadh, which, at one time, would seem to have been the most powerful state in India, was called by the Greeks, Palibothra, (likely a corruption of Pátálipura) about the site of which, so much learned discussion has taken place, both in India and Europe. It is not necessary here, to enter on this long disputed question. It seems, however, most probable, that the opinion which places it above Dynapur, near the junction of the Sone river with the Ganges, is nearest the truth. That river would seem, from the changes that have manifestly taken place in the face of the country, to have at one time entered the Ganges lower down than at present, and consequently nearer Patna, so that the latter city may be regarded as the descendant, of the ancient

Palibothra, though somewhat removed from its original site, a thing very far from unusual in the history of Indian cities, especially of those liable to be influenced, by alterations in the channel of the Ganges.

Bahár may be said to be one of the finest provinces of India, both as it respects climate and productions. The scorching hot winds, that, for several months in the year, parch and distress the upper provinces, extend but partially to Bahár, though, from its position, the country is necessarily hot. The province abounds with almost every description of agricultural produce, common to other parts of India. Rice and all other kinds of grain grow well. Sugar cane, cotton, indigo, the castor oil plant, pepper, &c. &c. are abundant, and the exportation of these, and many other articles, is very great. From Mongher to Patna, the country is everywhere well cultivated, and populous, and very rich in cattle, with large herds of which the alluvial banks, and islands thrown up by the river, are covered. But where a good soil has been deposited by the floods during the rains, it is ploughed and sown, as soon as the inundation has subsided, and produces beautiful crops of wheat, barley, millet, and pease, or vetches, of various kinds, which, under the general name of dhâll, are much used by the natives, to mix with their rice and curry, the standing dish of all classes in India. Large quantities of these articles are exported, from almost every place along the river. In going up, traders load their vessels in these parts with rice and dhâll, &c., for which they find a ready market in the large towns of the north-western provinces, whence they bring down, in return, wheat and barley, cotton, sugar, &c. &c., which they carry to Calcutta, and other places in Bengal, which from their dampness and warmth, are much better adapted to the production of rice, than of other kinds of grain. The amount of grain thus interchanged on the Ganges is immense, and forms a very extensive branch of commerce, employing many thousands of vessels. Two of the chief articles of commerce, next to grain, are salt, brought up from the coast, and beetal nuts from Arracan, and lower Bengal. Every native of India—Hindoo or Muhammadan, man, woman, or child, rich or

poor—constantly chews the sipâri, or beetal nut, and cannot think of life as endurable without it; so that the quantity used is immense.

Many of the vessels on the Ganges make trading voyages, buying and selling cargoes of anything out of which they can make a profit, at the different bazârs along the river. For the most part, however, the boats are hired, by native, and sometimes by European, merchants, to carry goods directly to given places. There are, also, companies, who insure and convey goods by the river; but they merely hire native boats, and insure the safe transmission of property, making good all loss from robbery or wreck. As yet, the steamers take but a small portion of the traffic, and that only which consists of the most valuable articles, the expense of carriage by them, being very much greater than by ordinary native boats. Some parts of the river, between Mongher and Patna, are of very difficult navigation, for vessels of any burden, owing both to shallows and rapids, so that there is considerable loss of property, and many wrecks take place, at certain seasons. Unless in severe storms—especially during the rains, when the river is very much swollen—the loss of life is seldom great, as nearly all the people are good swimmers, and can usually get on shore, or to some of the sand banks. Even the cattle, which graze on the banks and islands of the Ganges, as well as their owners, seem to be nearly amphibious. The large herds of milk cows and buffaloes, that graze during the day on the little islands, generally return to the villages on the mainland, every evening, to be milked, and to spend the night. The herd-boy, or man, drives them all into the river before him, and then, with one hand, seizes the tail of a cow, or buffalo, and flourishing his stick in the other, is dragged along till they have reached the other side. He continues all the way shouting to them, in order to direct their course to the proper landing place, which they are occasionally in danger of missing, and being, consequently, carried too far down by the current. Sometimes the herdsman mounts on the back of one of his charge, but the more usual way is, to allow himself to be dragged along, by the tail of one of the hindermost.

In those parts, where the traffic on the Ganges is so great, it is often necessary to be somewhat careful at night, when many boats are at one place, as the boatmen, as well as the people of the villages, are often great thieves, and frequently very expert in their calling. Unless, however, in some rather out-of-the-way places, where there are but few boats, and no police station within reach, there is, generally, little fear of anything like an attack from robbers. Of petty thieving, however, there is everywhere plenty. In this art, the people of India are very dexterous; so that, in travelling, whether by land or on the Ganges, very great care is required in protecting one's property. Volumes might be written about their dexterity in stealing, but merely a specimen or two may here be mentioned, as illustrative of their ingenuity.—A curious, but very simple plan is said to be practised for stealing the sheet from under a person during his sleep. This may seem a very difficult process with any ordinary sleeper, but I am assured that it is easily done in the following manner:—During the night, the thief creeps very quietly to the foot of the bed, and begins, gently and slowly, to pull towards him the sheet on which one is sleeping, taking care always to stop for a little, when the sleeper gives signs of awaking, in consequence of the sensation produced by the sheet being drawn from under him. As he hears no noise, however, he goes off again, and the thief proceeds with the operation, as soon as he thinks he is composed. In this way he goes on quietly, till he has full possession of the sheet, and the clothes of the sleeper, as well as any other article about, and then creeps off the way he came, without making any noise.

A military officer once on the line of march, became very anxious, in consequence of thieves several times attempting to rob his tent, in which he had always to sleep at night. His principal fear was about his small writing desk, in which, he happened to be carrying with him a considerable sum of money, and some articles of rather valuable jewelry. To make very sure of the safety of the desk, he was in the habit of placing it under his pillow whenever he went to sleep, thinking it utterly impossible that any one could take it

from under his head, without awaking him. One morning, however, he awoke, and found it gone, and after due search, it was met with, all broken to pieces in a neighbouring field, its precious contents having first been riffled. The way in which it had been taken was afterwards discovered. Some thieves, probably in league with his own servants, had discovered his plan, and guessed at the value of the box, from seeing his great care in securing it. They crept cautiously to his bed when he was asleep, and one of them, slipping his hands gently under the pillow, held up his head steadily, till the other walked off with the desk, and then let it down so gradually, that the gentleman was not conscious of what had taken place, till he awoke in the morning, and found that his valuable charge was gone.

The most common way of breaking into houses for plunder, in India, is that called "Sendh Márna," or digging through, or under the wall. This is done by digging a small tunnel, either under the foundation, if the building is solid, and of strong materials, or through the wall, if it is composed merely of clay, or of sunburnt brick, or any thing else easily penetrated. A hole is made by the the thieves, during the night, from the outside, sufficiently large to let one creep into the interior of the house, and hand out the plunder to those who watch outside, ready to carry it off. This plan is, no doubt, very ancient, as it is mentioned in the laws of Manu, and seems also to be referred to in the Old Testament. I have seen different houses thus entered, and some years ago, had my own premises robbed in the same way. As many of the common houses have only clay walls, or walls of sunburnt brick, they are easily dug through, without making much noise, to rouse the inmates. Even the more substantial buildings have rarely deep foundations, and are, therefore, easily undermined. This mode of housebreaking is, generally, not practiced by solitary individuals, but by gangs, as they require to have some to stand outside, both to watch against surprise, and to receive the booty from those who have entered.

I have heard of a gentleman, living by himself in a Bungalow, who, being rather late up one night, heard a noise as of some per-

sons busily engaged in digging under his wall. He determined to watch and see what the matter would come to. At last, a small aperture was made through, into his room, which the thieves continued to widen, till it was large enough to let one of their number creep through. The gentleman resolved to be ready to seize the first who should make his appearance. At last, the bare legs of a man came through, which he immediately grasped, and pulled them towards him with all his might. The person, to whom the legs belonged, feeling himself thus rudely clutched, called out for help to those on the outside, who, seizing him by the arms and shoulders, pulled with all their might, to drag him back. The gentleman, however, being able to plant his feet against the wall, obtained a strong purchase, so that with all their efforts they could not get their comrade out of his grasp. At last, they let go their hold, and ran off, leaving their antagonist to pull him inside, when, to his amazement and horror, he found the poor wretch had lost his head. Seeing they could not secure him, and being afraid of his turning evidence against the gang, they had cut off his head, and carried it away with them, when they let him go.

Early in the morning the gentlemen sent for the magistrate of the district, and brought the whole affair fully before him. That functionary, being well acquainted with the superstitious fears entertained even by the worst characters, among the natives—should they neglect to perform some funeral rites for a deceased friend, fell on a scheme, by which he might turn the headless corpse to some account, as a trap for catching the rest of the gang. He, therefore, caused it to be hung upon a gibbet in an open plain, in the neighbourhood, during the whole day. When it became dark, however, he placed an armed body of police, in such a way as would enable them easily to surround and arrest, any parties, who might come to take down the body in the night. The plan succeeded. Before the morning, the whole band of housebreakers, having no idea of the trap laid for them, came to take away the body of their late companion, and were all seized together, and brought to justice for their depredations.

The open and outrageous robbery of boats on the river, sometimes takes place, but not very often. A case of this kind occurred some years ago, when a budgerow containing some ladies, who had a good deal of property, was attacked and plundered in the night, by a large party of armed men, from some villages near the Ganges. Their boatmen and servants, who were suspected of being accomplices, ran off, without making any resistance, and the ladies themselves, after one of them had been hurt, and both greatly frightened, escaped on shore. The nearest magistrate, however, had soon most of the parties implicated, in confinement, and the speed with which punishment followed the crime, has pervented any attempt of the same kind since, though the neighbourhood bears a very bad character.

The system of assassination and robbery, known, generally, by the name of Thuggee, is said to have been long carried on to a considerable extent on the Ganges, especially where the river is broad, and intersected by many islands and sand banks, most of them of a very solitary character, which is the case, especially in many parts of Bahár. The mode in which river Thuggee is often practised, has been described, to be somewhat as follows:—A number of the Thugs set out together, in a boat, which they have hired for the purpose; some of them pretending to be boatmen, and others to be passengers, or traders. They go into the different bazárs, in the towns on the river side, and meeting with travellers, going up or down the country, they entice them into their boats, to take their passage with them, or merely to give them their company to some given place, whither they profess to be going. In this way they often succeed in decoying into their boats, such persons, as from their appearance, are likely to have some money or other valuables about them. They then take care gradually to distribute themselves among them, in such a way, as to give them an advantage over their unsuspecting passengers, and on a well known signal, at some convenient place, where their deeds cannot be seen, a noose formed with a small cord, is thrown, at one and the same moment, round the neck of each of their victims, and they are all despatched in an instant. After

every thing worth while, has been taken from their bodies, they break their backs over the side of the boat, to cause the bodies to sink, and having thrown them into the Ganges, proceed in quest of more prey.

The officers appointed, by the government, for the suppression of thuggee on the land, have displayed zeal, energy, and perseverance almost unparalleled, and it is believed attended by almost complete success; so that this horrid fraternity, if not entirely exterminated from the British territories, has at least been broken up and dispersed. It is not, however, supposed, that they have been, as yet, so successful in the suppression of river thuggee. The latter, in fact, was only discovered, during the time that active efforts were being made, to destroy the former, in consequence of some of those who were convicted of having practiced it on shore, giving evidence of being engaged in it, on the river also. More difficulty, it would however, appear, has been experienced in tracing and arresting the river Thugs, than in detecting those who carried on their horrid employment on shore. This has arisen, in part, from the fact, that they do not generally reside near the river, but meet at some place on the banks, by mutual consent, having come by different roads, and from different places a considerable distance inland; where they are known only, among their neighbours, as ordinary villagers. When they assemble, they seem only to have met by accident, and when their expedition is over, and they have divided the spoil, they return to their homes in the interior, where they profess to have been on a pilgrimage to some holy place, or on a visit to relatives in some remote district. With respect to having been to the holy places, their tale is likely very often true, as on the way to and from such scenes of public resort, as Benares, Allahabad or Gaya, they no doubt obtain many of their victims, especially among the more respectable classes of the pilgrims, who are often very inexperienced and simple country people, not much accustomed to go on long journeys, and easily deceived and entrapped by such artful, and well practised villains.

From Monghyr upwards, the people improve considerably in

physical appearance. They are of a more muscular race than the natives either of Bengal, or of the neighbouring district of Bhágulpur. The inhabitants of the latter district, are, I suspect, of a very mixed race; derived, to a considerable extent, from the hill tribes, whose general characteristics, they in some measure bear. They are shorter in stature, and of a darker complexion than the people more to the westward, and while they differ in form and features from the Bengalees, they resemble them more, in some respects, than they do the regular Hindoo races of the north-west. As we proceed above Mongher, however, the true Hindustani type becomes more distinctly marked. We meet now with a great many tall, strong-boned, or muscular men, of whom many are small landholders, or farmers, very different from the soft, sleeky, glittering-skinned natives of Bengal, whose whole appearance speaks of rice, cocoa-nut oil, and clarified butter. Instead of the bare heads of the Bengalees, they wear good turbans, to protect either from heat or cold, some of them very tastefully made; and, instead of the thin muslin garments of the Bengalees, thick jackets, of two folds, of silk or cotton cloth, well stuffed and quilted. Over the whole, a warm quilt of many yards is thrown, or a pair of good shawls, worn, like the plaid of a Scotch highlander. This latter garment is often worn by night as well as by day, as they usually wrap themselves in it when they go to sleep. Many of them ride on small horses, or in clumsy, little, two-wheeled carriages, called ekkas, drawn by one horse or poney. Others of the same kind, but a little larger, are drawn by two oxen.

None of these carriages have any springs. They are, therefore, dreadfully uncomfortable when they are driven fast, unless one has been used to them from youth, which the natives generally have been. They are often hung round with bits of iron to make a gingling noise, while the horse has a great many small bells suspended from his neck and bridle, the sound of which is most grievous to European nerves, but would seem to be very agreeable to those of the natives. I was once driven at the gallop for above ten miles, in the middle of the night, in one of these torturing machines,

over a very rough road, but my bones did not cease to ache for a week. There is no way of sitting in them, but cross-legged, after the oriental fashion. This is, however, the easiest position, were one used to it, either for an ordinary carriage, or a palanquin.

The carriages used by the native ladies, are generally of the same kind, but are covered closely over with a screen, which is often made of red cloth, that, at a distance, gives them a rather gaudy appearance. No one can see the ladies inside, but they can peep out at small apertures, and see all who pass. When they are travelling in the country, however, they generally throw aside the screen, but on the approach of strangers, of the other sex, their ideas of modesty require, that it should be closely drawn around them. "To make a rent in the screen," or vail, is a phrase used to designate the conduct of a woman who has lost her character for conjugal fidelity. A much larger carriage, of the same kind, is used in Western India, drawn, for the most part, by bullocks, two, three, or even four, being used, as required. A large family of ladies and children, with a great deal of luggage, is often to be seen crowded into one of these vehicles, covered over, for the occasion, with a thatched roof of long grass, to keep out the sun and rain, so that it looks like a small house on wheels. Such families are, in general, going on pilgrimage to Benares, Gaya, Allababad, or even to Hardwár. They have their pots, pans, and other household utensils with them, and live a sort of gypsy life on the roadsides, for months, purchasing their provisions, which are generally very simple, in the bazárs through which they every day pass, and cooking under the clumps of trees that surround the wells or tanks, made either by the government, or by individuals, for the accommodation, or refreshment, of travellers. At night, they often stop at the serais, which are also erected in the same way, where they pay a small sum for accommodation; but many of them lodge in the open air, under the shelter of their own blankets, &c., which they sometimes arrange, by the help of a few sticks, into a sort of tent, where they all sleep, closely huddled together, like a nestful of young birds, thus keeping each other warm, the clothes worn by

them during the day, serving, for the most part, during the night also. The higher classes, however, have their whole train of servants, with tents, and other conveniences, along with them; so that, on a journey, they can live in much the same way as at home. The Hindoos may be said to be fond of travelling, though they never, properly speaking, go out of their own country. Their religious pilgrimages are the principal cause of their journeys, and the great extent of India itself gives them ample scope within its own limits.

In one of my excursions between Mongher and Patna, I met with the largest specimen of the Banian tree that I have ever seen in India. Though this curious tree is common, in all parts of the country, very large ones are not numerous, or at least not so much so as large Peepuls, and other trees of the class to which it is related. As far as I can recollect, the Banian to which I refer had about twenty separate stems, of considerable size; but, in all probability, the parent one had long ceased to exist. A great many small roots, or twigs, hung down from the larger, wide-spreading branches, and were taking hold of the ground, and thus forming new roots. When these have fixed themselves well in the earth, they gradually increase in size, till they become large trunks, supporting, in their turn, the branches from which they originally sprung, and still continue to send forth other branches, which strike new roots in every direction, till this one tree forms a grove by itself. The Hindoos regard the Banian, as well as the Peepul, as sacred. Very few of them will ever venture to cut down a Peepul tree, however much it may incommode them. This prejudice often leads to the premature ruin of valuable buildings, especially in the larger and older cities.

It often happens that, in the mortar used in building a house-some, seeds of the Peepul tree may have fallen, or birds may have dropped them into chinks in the walls of older buildings. These very soon germinate, and it is the nature of the tree to grow almost anywhere, and to increase rapidly to such a size that it splits the strongest brick, or even stone walls. To prevent this, many of the people will not extract them, when they are mere seed-

lings, (though they know the consequences to their property of permitting them to grow) thinking it an act of great sacrilege to brake, or root out, a tree so sacred. Hence, many large and valuable buildings, both public and private, and even some of the temples of the gods themselves, in Patna, Benares, and other cities, have been reduced almost to a state of dilapidation, by these trees growing through their walls to an enormous size, so as even to threaten their destruction; and yet the owners of the buildings, will, on no account, cut them down. To some of the smaller houses, a rather picturesque appearance is given, by one of these large trees, growing up from the inside, through the roof, and with its wide spreading branches forming a cool shady canopy for the whole domicile. Should any person wish to cut down one of these sacred trees, he would be afraid of being punished, if not by the gods, at least by his neighbours, who would regard it as an act of great impiety. I know a missionary who was obliged to let a tree of this kind stand, to the great detriment of his house, for fear of raising a disturbance in his neighbourhood.

The Banian tree is much more rare than the Peepul, which is to be seen everywhere, but especially around temples and other sacred places, where lighted lamps are often to be seen placed under it, or sometimes hung on its branches, many of which are kept burning by individuals, in honour of their dead relatives or ancestors. Others are lighted and placed there, every night, especially during one month of the year (the Hindoo month Kártik) in honour of the gods. The largest Banian of which I have ever heard, is a very ancient one on the banks of the Nirbudda; which has been described as being about two thousand feet in circumference, measured round the principal stems, while the hanging branches and roots, which had reached the ground, were found to cover a much larger space. The chief trunks of this single tree, were said by one traveller who counted them, to amount to three hundred and fifty, all larger than common English oaks, or elms, while the smaller stems, forming the supporters, were said to be more than three thousand. Whether this account be greatly exaggerated or not, I have no means of as-

certaining, as I have not seen it myself. The size of some, however, that I have seen, as compared with every other kind of tree, was very great. In some parts of Bahár, many of the Peepul and Tamarind trees, likewise, grow to an enormous size, and the height of many of the Palmyras also, is much greater than usual in other parts of India.

The Peepuls are not looked on with reverance by the Muhammadans, and are not to be seen in such numbers about their villages, as about those inhabited by Hindoos. The Muhammadan villages are generally, however, surrounded by a good many of the Palmyra, or as they are called, Tár trees. The liquor produced from this tree is called Tári, which is corrupted by Europeans into Toddy, and is very often used even to intoxication by the English soldiers. They wander out among the villages, and buy it from the natives, who climb the high trees, and hang an earthen pot on one of the green branches, in which they make a slit, so that the juice oozing out, gradually fills the small pot with a milky looking liquid, which, on being drunk, would seem to ferment on the stomach, and induce intoxication. While fresh, it is also used by the bakers as yeast, for raising their bread.

When there are decayed parts in the Peepul trees, the Muhammadans often stick into them, young Tár plants, and also into hollow trunks of very old trees, so that the stems become a sort of flower pot, in which the young Palmyra is nourished, till it gradually strikes its roots into the ground and destroys the Peepul entirely. When a number of these Tár trees is seen near a village, it may be presumed that its inhabitants are, for the most part, Muhammadans; while the wide spreading Peepul indicates the preponderance of the Hindoos, who regard it as sacred, and delight to sit in its ample shade. The tall, slender Tár tree, with its small canopy of enormous leaves at its top, instead of branches, gives rise to a common appellation for a tall, slender, feeble man, who has neither strength to stand by himself, nor to give shelter or protection to others.

The fact, that the Muhammadans are fonder of the liquor made

from the Tár tree, than the Hindoos are, is a singular instance of glaring inconsistency with their professed creed, which is that of strict tee-totalism. In every part of India where I have been, I have invariably found that the Mussulmans, notwithstanding the distinctness of their doctines in forbidding intoxicating drinks, and also, all such drugs as opium, &c., are decidedly more given to the excessive use of them, than the Hindoos. The very men who, in public, and especially before strangers, are loudest in denouncing the use of wine, or spirits, even in the smallest portions, may be seen in large companies in obscure places, not taking a little of anything for refreshment, but drinking to the greatest excess, so as to be unable to return home, till they have slept away its effects. There are many places in the neighbourhood of Benares, and other cities, where every evening, some hundreds of these professed tee-totalers may be seen sitting in rows, drinking spirits out of earthen pots, which are thrown away when empty, while many of them are lying on the ground too drunk to be able to sit at all. As the law of the Kurán is equally violated, by merely tasting wine—under which all spirituous liquors are included—as by getting completely drunk, the Muhammadans seem to make a point, if they touch it at all, to get drunk at once, on the principle of the old saying, that "one may as well be hanged for stealing a sheep, as for a lamb." While the Muhammadans have a great deal of formal stiffness, and make the greatest profession of strict adherance to the precepts of their religion, they are lax in the extreme, as it respects every thing deserving the name of a moral principle, however much even that principle may be asserted in the Kurán itself, and inculcated by their most celebrated teachers. Their most learned men, themselves, have often a remarkable resemblance to the Pharisees of scripture, most zealously defending, and carefully conforming to, external rites, but ever ready to explain away doctrines of a moral, or useful character, or to find excuses for neglecting the positive injunctions of their law, without openly questioning its authority.

The Cocoa nut tree, like several other kinds of palms, begins to disappear, as we proceed up the country through Bahár. A few

cocoa nut, and date trees, are to be seen in the north-western provinces, but they are not productive. The former especially, seldom grows out of the tropics, and always thrives best near the sea. The Date palm, however, grows much farther up the Ganges, but its fruit is not so good as in Bengal. A considerable trade is carried on in cocoa nuts, and in the oil expressed from their husks, and also in their fibres, so extensively used for making ropes, matting, and other useful articles. Tropical fruits, such as plantains, &c. begin to deteriorate, while others, natural to regions out of the tropics, such as grapes, straw-berries, &c. begin to appear in greater perfection. Most of the vegetables common in England, grow very well in the cold season, while those more commonly produced only in tropical climates, ripen either in the hot, or in the rainy, months. Wheat, barley, and several other kinds of grain, are sown after the rains, in the end of September, or beginning of October, and reaped in the end of March or beginning of April, while Indian corn, and various other kinds of grain and green crops, are sown in the end of June, and early in July, and are off the ground in time for the more regular annual crops of grain. There are, therefore, two harvests in the year; the one reaped at the season corresponding to the English spring, is called the Fasl—or harvest of the season; while the one reaped at the end of the rains, is called Rabbi, or the Lord's, being more precarious, and therefore, regarded as a special boon from heaven. Thus, besides a variety of things produced at all seasons of the year, a great deal of the land yields annually, two crops of grain. The partial failure of one crop in the year, is sometimes to a large extent compensated by the abundance of the other, but as both are mostly dependent on the same cause—a good regular rainy season, two good, or two bad harvests, not unfrequently take place. As the people live almost exclusively on grain food, and the transit of grain from one province to another, being mostly by land carriage, is very expensive, and greatly enhances the price, the poor suffer much when there are deficient crops, but from the quickness of vegetation in India, it is surprising how soon they rise above the pressure of such calamities,

even where a whole district seems almost ruined. The crops, however, even in the best years, might be far heavier than they are, were it not for the general deficiency of skill in husbandry, the inferiority of their implements, and the want of any proper system of manuring, and rotation of crops. There is little deficiency in the amount of labour spent on the lands, and on the whole they are not badly cleaned. Bullocks are used for ploughing, but never horses. The plough is a small wooden instrument, with one handle, and is pulled by two small oxen. It does little more than make a deep scratch in the ground, but as they go over it a number of times, crossing it in various directions, they succeed in producing a fine mould, ploughing and harrowing, being done by the same process. Its chief defect is want of depth, but I have heard gentlemen, well skilled in agriculture, say, that with this exception, it is a mode of culture by no means unsuitable to the nature of the soil, and climate.

In harvest, men, women, and children, are all engaged in the fields. The grain is cut with sickles, the use of the scythe being still unknown. It is then carried to some dry, flat spot, in the same field, or in one conveniently near; where it is heaped up, an open space being left in the centre. When the whole produce of the field, has been collected, or at least a considerable portion of it, a quantity, of several feet in depth, is spread out in the open area, left clear for the purpose. A number of oxen, sometimes as many as four or five, but fewer occasionally, are fixed together by a rope, which is passed through holes perforated in their nostrils. They are then driven round and round, on the heap, by a person who holds the end of the nose rope, in one hand, and a whip or stick in the other. The driver stands in the middle, and turns round with the team, of which the outside bullocks must walk faster than the others, as they have a wider circle to describe. In this way they trample out the grain, which is collected into heaps, after the straw has been separated, and cast on one side, by the rest of the people. It is immediately winnowed from the chaff and the dust is sifted out, before it is removed from the field; and then it is carried home and laid up in granaries. These granaries are sometimes inside the

houses, but at other times they are formed by excavations in the ground, over which temporary sheds are erected, to preserve the grain from being spoiled by the ground getting damp from the rain. A large portion, however, is often stored up, in immense vessels of coarse earthenware, sometimes made merely of clay, mixed with straw, and left unburnt, though well dried before the grain is put into them. They are often inserted in the ground, in the verandas, or in niches, in the inside of the houses. Small quantities of grain are taken from them, as required to grind for daily use. The above method of thrashing is the same as that so often referred to in scripture, and I have no doubt, but the granaries, or storehouses, also, so often mentioned, were of the same, or at least of a kind very similar to those still used in northern India.

In the laws of Moses, the Israelites were forbidden to muzzle the ox while treading out the corn. This was a merciful law; for it seems certainly cruel to force an animal, perhaps suffering from hunger, to walk round for hours in one dull but laborious routine, up to the ears in his favourite food, and with his nose constantly almost buried in the midst of it, without even allowing him to taste it, when all that he could eat would never be missed, in the plentiful season of harvest. The people of India do not generally observe the merciful rule of the Mosaic law, but, on the contrary, most of the bullocks, employed in thrashing, are closely muzzled, to prevent them from eating the corn. Though the Hindoos venerate cows, and, more especially, bulls, as sacred animals, they act often towards them in a manner very inconsistent with their own professed creed. To oppress bulls and cows, is declared, by the unanimous consent of all their own Shasters, to be one of the greatest sins; and to kill them for food, is regarded as little better than murder, and by some as even more sinful. But, though they would not kill them outright, and eat them, they work them harder than any other class of animals, and are no more tender towards them, when alive, than Smithfield drovers, or Whitechapel butchers are, to the animals destined to supply the shambles of London.

Another illustration of scripture frequently occurs in Bahár, and

other parts of India. In Isaiah i. 8, it is said, "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers." In perusing this passage, the mere English reader is apt to think of the "lodge" mentioned, as a small, but permanent, building in a garden, enclosed like the gardens of Europe. Cucumbers, are, however, usually grown in India, and likely, also, in Palestine, and other eastern countries, not in gardens, enclosed and protected like those of Europe, but in open fields, like turnips, potatoes, or any similar vegetable. Here, in the centre of a field of cucumbers, melons, Indian corn, or any other large-stalked grain, as well as in groves of guavas, plaintains, &c., on all of which birds are most especially disposed to make depredations, there is generally a small, temporary platform erected, sometimes as high as ten or twelve feet. This is formed by a few wooden posts, or strong bamboos, driven into the ground, and fixed together at the top, by cords made of straw, or of long grass. A few smaller bamboos are laid across these, on which is perched a man, or, more usually, a boy, who is generally armed with a pellet-bow, from which he discharges balls of dried clay, at the invading flocks of parrots, crows, minas, &c., who are constantly coming to help themselves to food. He accompanies every discharge with loud shouts, which, as well as his missiles, are often ineffectual in dispersing the hungry, or at least destructive swarms of chatterers, by which, during the whole day, the ripening fields are infested. This Argus, himself, however, often falls asleep on his platform, especially after taking his dinner, which is brought to him from the village, when he is easily overcome by the heat of the sun, and then the field is immediately covered, with hundreds of greedy depredators. At other times, he is tempted to wander from his post, to enjoy the luxury of a drink of cool water from the Ganges, or some neighbouring well, or, it may be, to gossip with some friend in another field, and then all the birds driven, perhaps, from other places, by more wakeful or active watchmen, come to prey on the field of the sluggard. In spite of all watching, the countless myriads of birds in India, must devour an immense quantity of the fruits, and grain crops. The parrots,

especially, which are as numerous in some parts of northern India, as the rooks in Europe, are peculiarly destructive. They do not content themselves with pecking the grains from the ear, but break off the whole ear from the stalk, and fly away with it to a little distance, and when they have eaten a few grains from it, they cast it from them, and return to the field for another; so that what they actually eat is little, compared to what they destroy. They act in the same way with fruit, of which they are very fond, carrying often away an orange, a guava, a pomegranate, or cucumber, and, after taking a little bit out of it, they cast it away, and return to the field, or garden, for another. The people of India, though they lose so much, and are pestered so greatly, by these birds, kill very few of them, though there are no game laws to protect them. They generally content themselves with merely driving them away. The birds seem to know this very well, and are under no serious apprehensions for their lives, but sit and look one in the face, till he is within a few yards.

The solitariness of this employment of watching the fields, is the point to which Isaiah refers in his allusion to the forlorn state of Jerusalem. The person has to sit alone all the day, on his little scaffold, without any one to speak with him, so that his employment is very dreary and monotonous. Sometimes the small platform has a sort of roof of matted straw, to shelter him from the sun and rain; and he often has to remain on it during the night also, to protect his field from thieves and stray cattle, and especially from the sacred, or Brahmani bulls, who being always permitted to go at large, often sleep in the day, and forage for their food when it is dark. By night, or by day, however, these latter are not to be frightened by small clay balls discharged from a pellet-bow, and sometimes even, not by the watchmen's long and thick cudgel, but frequently turn, and act on the defensive with their horns, so that they cannot be driven from the fields by one individual, till they have satisfied themselves with their portion of the tithes; nor can they be impounded and made to pay damages, like common cattle, who are not like them, the privileged servants of the god Mahadeo, nor marked on the rump with

his trident. No one dares to kill these bulls, and though most people look on them as a great nuisance, their sacred character makes them objects of great regard, to the more superstitious Hindoos. I have often heard a man, stopped in a narrow lane in a city, by a Brahmani bull, very respectfully address him as his superior, saying, "Please, my Lord, be so good as stand aside a little, and let me pass!" But though they are thus held in veneration by the more orthodox Hindoos, they get many a hard blow with sticks, or stones, from many persons, whom they annoy, or interupt, or into whose fields they intrude; but such treatment does not much disturb their equanmity, or render them less self-willed.

Some of these districts, as well as those around Banares, Ghazipur, and other places, are often visited by large swarms of locusts, especially during the dry seasons. They are not always of the same species, but I have not myself, observed more than two kinds, differing merely in size and colour, but much the same in form. The kind that I have oftenest seen, is of a whitish yellow colour, and somewhat larger than the other, which is more reddish. Some of the swarms are much more numerous than others. One swarm which passed the city of Benares some years ago, I had a very good opportunity of seeing, from the position which I happened to occupy at the time, and my calculation was, that it was about four miles in length, and about a mile in breadth. My estimate of the mere length and breadth of the swarm, could not be far from correct, as it was in sight of my own house, which stood on an elevated spot, and gave me a full view of the ground, and I know the actual distance in measured miles, which the swarm covered at the same time, though not with equal density. But the height of the vast mass on the wing, I could not venture even to conjecture. While the ground, and trees, were all covered with them, so that scarcely a green leaf could be seen, they, at the same time, filled the air like a dense cloud, obscuring the sun, and rising to such an elevation, that it pained the eye even to attempt to trace the higher masses, that seemed like reddish clouds, agitated and driven along by a strong wind. It is impossible for the human mind to conceive of infinitude in numbers, but I never, by any power

of abstraction could form an idea of multitude equal to that suggested by the view of a large swarm of locusts, passing over and around one for more than an hour, as thick as flakes of snow, driven by the wind, but so very different in their motions, from every individual, of the vast multitude, having evidently a will of his own, and being quite independent in his movements, sometimes resting on the ground, or catering for food, at other times soaring towards the clouds, or going onwards with rapid flight, according to his own particular inclination, though still following the same general course with the main column. Each one seems to be quite a free agent, but still, he acts exactly, on the whole, with the rest, none of which exercise any authority over him. But whether he is influenced by a natural, or moral necessity, I must leave the metaphysicians to determine. Many of the swarms, however, are very much smaller than the one to which I have refered. It has occured to me that the very large swarms are not permanent bodies, keeping long together, but are formed by the occasional junction of several smaller swarms, which at other times take different courses, when separated by storms, or hills, or any other natural obstruction to a straight forward course. I have often seen swarms not one tenth the size of others; and on one occasion, I saw a swarm separate into two bodies, in passing the city of Benares, one going towards the west, and the other to the north-east. They may, indeed, have afterwards reunited, but I suspect they could not have done so, at least for a considerable time, from the very different directions which they took, and the great distance to which they had gone from each other, before I had lost sight of them, without the least indication of either party changing its course.

On one occasion, I saw a large swarm of locusts overtaken by one of those tremendous, and sudden storms, called north-westers. As soon as the storm appeared on the horizon, driving before it, as usual, an immense cloud of reddish dust, they seemed in a state of great alarm, and at once altered their course. They did not attempt to fly before it, but to cross its current, and what is worthy of notice, exactly in that sort of angle, now recommended by

scientific men, to be adopted by the captains of ships, when overtaken by a hurricane, in order the sooner to run out of its limits. They flew across the current of wind with a rapidity, quite different from their usual rate of progress, and were most of them soon out of sight. Notwithstanding all their efforts to escape, however, many of them were caught in the storm, and soon disappeared. Some of them, no doubt, alighted for shelter till it blew over, and perhaps, not a few were destroyed. In Ps. cix. 23d are these words, "I am tossed up and down like a locust." In a gale of wind, I have noticed, that the motion of the locusts, on the wing, is up and down, somewhat like the small bird called the bunting. This motion is involuntary, and different from its usual action. It is occasioned by its efforts to fly across the storm; while every gust of wind, tosses it up in the air, after the propelling force of each successive stroke of its wings, has been expended, and before it is able to make another. It labours with all its might to keep on its course, and escape the storm, but is again and again tossed up in the air, by the force of the tempest, and in spite of all that it can do, it is carried to leeward. Hence it is used, by the Psalmist, as a fit emblem of a man tried, and tossed about by the storms, or adversities of this life, so as to be unable steadily to pursue his course.

We are told that the food of John the Baptist was "locusts and wild honey." The locusts are sometimes eaten in India, especially by the Muhammadans, who have a peculiar method of frying them. In order to ascertain the nature of the food used by John, I have had some of them cooked in the native fashion; but I do not think there are many, who would regard them as a luxury. They take off the legs and wings, and dress them with pepper and butter, but after all, they are very dry and tasteless. The part used, would be about the size of an ordinary shrimp, but very inferior in flavour.

The destruction of crops by locusts in north-western India, is often very considerable, though not generally so disastrous, as in Palestine and other hilly countries, where the cultivation is of much more limited extent, and carried on in narrow valleys, fertile

but small, and shut in by ranges of rocky hills, and wide arid deserts. When a large swarm of locusts comes down on such a valley, they are sure to be hungry, and will not leave it, till they have eaten up every green thing, and reduced the people, and also their cattle, to starvation. The wide extent of the fertile and well cultivated plains of India, gives them much more scope, and they get enough to eat as they pass on, often doing great damage indeed, but never settling long on a district, nor altogether, eating up the crops, in any given locality.

Sometimes, however, they make a clean sweep of a whole field, in which anything is growing that is peculiarly agreeable to their taste. A friend of mine, an indigo planter, was one day standing at his door, giving directions to a number of labourers, about cutting the indigo plants in a field in sight of his house, when happening to turn round to point it out to his people, he saw a large swarm of locusts passing over, and many of them settling on it. His people ran off as fast as they could, to try to save the crop, but by the time they got there, their sickles were of no use, for the locusts had devoured every leaf of the indigo, and left nothing but the useless stems of the bushes.

The country people, when they see them coming, run about and beat drums, and make every sort of jingling noise they can, and halloo with all their might, to frighten them from their fields and gardens; but such is the multitude of these devastators, that, if they are disposed to alight, all these efforts are of little avail. In passing through a district of south Bahár, I once saw a large swarm moving more slowly than usual over the face of the country. The crops were green, and apparently quite to their taste. All the people, from the villages, were among their fields, and making all the noises possible, and running about with all their might to scare and kill as many as they could; but they were able to disturb them only a little here and there, without producing any visible impression on the general movements, of the countless legions, that followed each other in unbroken masses. In this case the work of destruction was no doubt much greater than usual, and partly from

the very same cause, which makes their visits so much dreaded in Palestine, and other similar countries. The district along which they were passing, was skirted by a range of barren hills, which seemed to have checked their progress in one direction, and caused them to settle with much greater pertinacity, on the fields at their base.

CHAPTER X.

TOWN OF FUTWA —CITY OF PATNA.—MILITARY STATION OF DYNAPUR.—BAPTIST AND OTHER MISSIONS IN BAHAR.

For some distance below the city of Patna, the Ganges is very wide, but its waters rarely flow in one channel. As in many other parts of the river, lower down, there are here numerous islands and sand banks, most of which are entirely covered in the rains, but others are only partially so, unless in seasons when the river rises much higher than usual. Above Patna, the sand banks, though numerous, diminish in size, and very few of the islands are sufficiently large, or well enough covered with vegetable mould, to be fit for regular cultivation, though crops are occasionally to be seen upon them. In the district immediately below Patna, the population seems very great. There are several towns of some importance, but for the most part, the people are spread over the face of the country in villages, many of which seem almost to join each other. Not a few of them are of considerable size. The proportion of Muhammadans to Hindoos, would seem to be greater in this neighbourhood than in most other places, arising, no doubt, from the proximity of Patna, which, during the Muhammadan rule in India, was a place of greater importance than it is now.

A great deal of cloth is made in these towns and villages below Patna, and the district has been celebrated, for the manufacture of towels, &c. from time immemorial. It is a curious fact, that according to the Mahâwanso, a present of fine towels from this district, is said to have been made by Dharmasoka Râja of Pátálipura, to ambassadors from Ceylon, who were sent to obtain Budhist teachers, and the daughter of that monarch, to be the high priestess of Budhism then newly planted in that Island, about the year three hundred and seven before Christ. This sort of goods, has continued to be made

in the district for two thousand four hundred years, and probably for a much longer period; and Patna towels are still not only extensively used in India, but are often to be met with even in Europe; and though they have been imitated by the looms of Lancashire, the quality of the fabric has not yet been excelled, if it has even been equalled.

Many of the towels, table clothes, &c. made in the district immediatly below Patna seem to be sold on the Ganges. The kapráwálas, or clothiers come off from Fatwá, and other large villages, bringing with them bales of towels, table clothes, sheeting, and other cotton goods of various discriptions, and lashing their small boats to the larger ones passing, they spread their wares on the decks often without asking or getting leave, and frequently obtain a considerable sale, as they are able to dispose of their manufactures much cheaper here, near home, than they can possibly do at a greater distance. Ready money is also an important object. Many Europians, as well as natives, expect to get such articles here cheaper and better, than any where else, so that they are intending to buy as they pass; and consequently a sort of floating cloth market is daily held on the Ganges. Even the boatmen, if they have money, here buy articles, to sell for a profit at other places on the voyage.. Men from these ports also, during certain seasons of the year, travel extensively over the country to dispose of their goods.

The town of Fatwá, from which most of these cruising traders come, stands at the junction of a small river, with the Ganges. It is a considerable stream in the rains, and rises in the hilly districts of central India. There is a fine old bridge over it at Fatwá erected by the Muhammadans, who have also a college here, in which many of their Moulvees are educated. This college formerly enjoyed a considerable reputation, but now Muhammadan institutions, in general, like those of the Hindoos, are on the decline in India. They are not capable of being improved, so as to become adapted to the spirit of the age; and the desire which is gradually springing up among the young, for information about the rest of the world; and especially about the manners, institutions, literature, and reli-

gion of Europe, cannot possibly be gratified by the dull, monotonous, and uninteresting teaching of the Muhammadan Moulvees, however patriarchal their long white beards may seem; especially as their instructions are aways given through the medium of the Arabic and Persian languages, both of which, though not entirely dead languages in India, are quite foreign to the masses of the people.

Though in habits and opinions, the Hindoos, in general, are much farther removed from Europeans than the Muhammadans are, they are not so virulent in their opposition to English teaching; and as they are much better satisfied with our government than the Muhammadans, they look on us with a more favourable eye, and are more ready to listen to our notions about things in general, not even excluding religion. Hence, schools, whether supported by the British government, by missionary societies, or by individuals; whether merely giving secular knowledge, or adding to that Christian instruction, are full of Hindoo children, willing to be educated not only in secular knowledge, but in all the doctrines and moral precepts of the Christian religion; while the Mussulmans send comparatively few of their children, unless to schools which they think will give only such instruction, as may be quite consistent with the most orthodox Muhammadanism.

The consequences of this course, are likely to be very fatal to the future temporal prosperity, and social respectability of the followers of the prophet, in India. While the Hindoos are rising in knowledge and influence, and gradually getting possession of nearly all the offices under the British government, and acquiring, by their industry, nearly all the landed property and commercial capital in the country, many even of the highest families of the Mussulmans, from pride, bigotry, and want of adaptation to the new order of things, are rapidly going down, step by step, to the rank of plebeians, without being fit even for that. They had a long reign of tyranny and rapacity, during which they oppressed the Hindoos, and trampled them under their feet; but the latter are now rising fast to their proper place in their own country.

It is but a reasonable policy in the British government, to prefer the Hindoos to the Muhammadans in places of public trust. They constitute the main body of the real people of India, while the Muhammadans are a comparatively small body, partially of foreign extraction, and more or less sympathizing with those states to the westward, that are most hostile to British interests. The Hindoos may be said to have been, to a large extent, in many of the Indian provinces, rescued from Muhammadan oppression, by the English, and are, therefore, in general, more satisfied with their rule; while the Muhammadans, who were more recently in power, not unnaturally continue, in some degree, to hanker after their former greatness, and are, therefore, less to be trusted by the present government. Still, however, the Muhammadans are an important body, though a minority of the people of India, and nothing could be more desirable, than that they should fully partake in all the advantages of the educational movement, and especially that they should be brought under the influence of the gospel, of which they are at present, for the greater part, the most bitter adversaries.

The city of Patna is situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, and may be regarded as the provincial capital of Bahár. It is a large city, and viewed from the river, presents a striking aspect. Before entering Patna, we pass the ruins of a palace, and very extensive, but now neglected gardens, which formerly belonged to the Nawáb Jaffier Khán, from whose hands the valuable provinces of Bengal, Bahár, and Urissa, passed into those of the English, after the battle of Plassy. Their general appearance of dilapidation, with broken down walls, summer houses, and large massy towers, either fallen, or falling, into the Ganges, is a fit emblem of the present condition of Muhammadan states in every part of the world. The splendid empire of the Moguls has passed away, leaving only a few fragments to mark where it once stood, on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna; while on the banks of the Tigris, Bagdad, alone, solitary, and half in ruins, remains like the last crumbling monument of the vast Empire of the Caliphs, that once stretched from the Atlantic to the Indus, and from the steppes of central Asia to the sources of

the Nile; while the descendants of the renowned Timur, whose resistless armies once ravaged the world, from China to the Danube, have now a few acres of territory and a mock sovereignity, while those of a petty European chief, now sway a sceptre, not only over the wide and fertile regions of India, but over many other lands, of whose existence Timur had no conception. Whatever may have been the purpose of Providence, in ordering or permitting the rise of Muhammadanism, that purpose it would seem, has been nearly accomplished, and the system itself, both in its religious energies and in its political power, is evidently, fast vanishing away.

Patna has a more thoroughly oriental appearance than any other large city, farther down the Ganges. Calcutta, with all its splendour, is a nondescript. It is neither European nor Asiatic. It has something of both in its aspect, with a great deal that belongs to neither, and also much that—like many of its inhabitants—may be regarded as of mixed origin. Even Murshidabad, though built a good deal in the Muhammadan style, has too many traces of the presence of European art, to strike one's attention as purely oriental. Even in Patna, a few large buildings may be seen, that bear traces of European origin. These were erected by the servants of the East Indian Company, during the early days of its monopoly, before the English had any considerable territory in India; but they are not sufficiently numerous, nor purely English, to disturb the the general idea of the city being wholly oriental. At Patna I first realized the feeling, that I was actually among the scenes and people familiar to my imagination in boyhood, when I read with delight, the night's entertainment and Arabian tales, in which eastern characters, manners and customs are far more vividly and faithfully portrayed, than in any books that have yet been written, or are ever likely to be written, by Europeans. Those tales are often regarded in England, as fictions, written, not by natives of the East, but by Europeans, in imitation of Arabian or Persian stories. This is not, however, the case. They are to be found in most eastern languages; and are daily to be heard, repeated by professional story-tellers, who earn a livelihood by rehearsing them in the bazárs and other

public places. These are to be seen, especially in the evenings, sitting on little mats, or carpets, with a crowd of idlers around them, who seem to listen with great interest, and who generally give something to the reciter for his pains. They are also very often rehearsed by private individuals, to amuse their friends and companions on a journey, and that often, with an eloquence very far from despicable. That, with some variations, many of these stories are essentially the same, as those published in most European languages, I can vouch for; and to many in India, the fact is well known.

My attention was first called to these current stories accidentally, while voyaging on the Ganges. One fine moonlight night, all the boatmen seemed in remarkably good spirits. It was one of those splendid nights, of unclouded sky, so common in north-western India; with stars far more brilliant than can ever be seen in the murky climate of England, and a moon almost as bright as a London sun. Even the boatmen seemed scarcely to feel the effects either of their hard day's work, or of the enormous supper which they had swallowed. No one, on such a night, wishes to sleep. About twelve o'clock, I was lying on my couch, listening to the rippling of the Ganges, and the talking, singing, and laughing on the banks. At last, the boatmen, after, one by one, washing their feet and mouths in the river, came on board, and threw themselves on the deck, above my cabin, under a little canopy formed by the sails, and adjusted themselves for a sleep till dawn. In a few minutes, all their voices were still, when the mánjhi, or captain, after a few coughs and mutterings, began, with a clear and distinct voice, to utter an eloquent speech. I listened to hear what it could be, when I soon began to recognize such words as, "Bádsháh, king, Sháh Záda, prince, Sháh Zádi, princess," &c., as well as some names that seemed strangely familiar to my ear. At last, I got hold of the thread of the story, and it turned out to be no other than one of the voyages of Sinbad the Sailor, which I had read in my boyish days in sight of the Grampian mountains, and now felt no small surprise to hear repeated, in another language, by a real

Muhammadan sailor, on the Ganges. The impulse was chiefly given to my curiosity by the beautiful style of language in which the mánjhi was speaking, and which I knew to be far above his extemporizing powers, as both he and his men, being of the lowest and most uneducated classes, could neither read nor write, and were unable, generally, to speak in any but the most vulgar dialect. This circumstance led me to make some inquiries, through which I learned that these popular tales, and many others utterly unknown to Europeans, are committed to memory, *verbatim*, from dictation, and recited, without variation, by many who cannot read a word. Many things in them are exceedingly puerile, and not a few of them have an immoral tendency. The greater part, however, is merely common romance, of a very mixed character indeed as to morality, but not, perhaps—making allowance for habits and taste—more so than the principal works of the most fashionable novelists in Europe, during the last century.

The common people of India have a considerable taste for poetry, though it is not of a very refined kind. The poetry, however, current among them, is far from despicable, and certainly superior to that of the English, before the reign of Elizabeth. The people of India have a great deal more good poetry even than the English had previous to the last century, though they have never produced an individual poet equal to a Chaucer, a Shakespere, or a Milton, nor any one poem, equal to one of the first class in English. In many of their finest ideas, however, our more modern poets have been anticipated by those of Persia and Hindustan; and though their works may be more congenial to European taste than those of eastern poets, literally translated, they are not, in reality, more beautiful, or truer to nature. The finest passages of some of Byron's works, and most of Moore's Lalla Rookh, are imitations of eastern poetry, and not original conceptions.

But this is a digression. We are now at Patna. This city extends for four or five miles along the banks of the river, but is at no place very wide. It has a large commerce, and the number of vessels usually to be seen delivering, or loading, cargoes in front of

it, is very great. Grain, sugar, indigo, &c., are exported, in large quantities, by the river, both to the upper and lower provinces. The bank of the Ganges is here of considerable height, and in some places, in consequence of the ruinous state of some of the larger buildings, it has the appearance of a rocky shore. There are some fine ghâts, covered with bathers. Some of these pass under archways, through private houses; and others, from the terminations of small streets, or lanes, leading down to the river, while the principal streets run parallel with it, at some distance inland, and are several miles in length, but very irregular in breadth, and by no means straight. Most of the cross streets are small, and many of them have no opening to the river, which is, therefore, only to be approached by narrow avenues. This is a very common defect of all the large towns on the Ganges, though, from the fondness of the people for the sacred stream, and its very great usefulness as the great reservoir from which they drink, as well as being the grand public bath for all classes; and the place where they constantly assemble for social intercourse, it is most particularly desirable that they should be able to reach it easily, and be well accommodated when there. The wish of all parties, however, to occupy sites for houses on the immediate bank of the Ganges, leads, generally, to great competition for property so situated, and thus greatly enhances its value. This leads also to many instances of private infringement on ground, which properly belongs to the public; so that the utmost vigilance in the magistrates, is sometimes required, to prevent public ground from being appropriated to private use. In some towns, the banks of the river are crowded with the best houses, while those inland, are very mean and straggling, and used only by the poorer classes.

The inhabitants of Patna have generally the character of not being so well affected towards Europeans, as those of most other places. This arises, in part at least, from the preponderance of Muhammadan sentiments, often, in no small degree, hostile to English influence. The early struggles of the Europeans for the ascen-

dancy in this district, and, no doubt, the disgraceful conduct of many of them, as well as the massacre of the whole of the English resident at Patna by the renegade Somers, and the feuds occasioned by those early transactions, have produced a sort of hereditary ill will to Europeans, among the Mussulmans of Patna, in addition to their usual dislike of them as professed Christians. Whatever may be the cause, it seems to be a fact, obvious to all who know any thing of Murshidabad and Patna, that there is a more hostile feeling to Europeans in these two cities, among the Muhammadans especially, than is to be observed, even among the same classes, in other places.

There has, therefore, been more difficulty than usual, experienced in propagating Christianity in Patna, and the impression made on it by the gospel does not yet seem to be great, though the Baptist mission here is of long standing. I have understood that missionaries have often met with virulent oppostion, and even personal violence in the city, chiefly from the Muhammadans. One of them informed me, that, on one occasion, while attempting to preach, he had been abused and beaten by the people. An occurence like this is very rare in India, and I myself, though I have had no small experience, have never witnessed even an approach to such violence. It must, however, be admitted, that, in Patna, Christianity has not, generally, been represented by any considerable body of well educated, or talented missionaries, capable of commanding general respect, in a large community, naturally hostile to its propagation.

The Baptist missionary society has a mission here, which was commenced as far back as the year 1811, but has at no period been strong, or efficiently conducted. One European missionary, brought forward by the society in the country, but never educated for the ministry, has, for a considerable part of the time, been all the agency employed by the Baptist society for this large city, with the exception of one or two natives. A mission on this scale is utterly inadequate to the production of any good impression on the population of such a large city, even were the resident missionary ever so well qualified for the work. Good, in individual cases, may be

done, and such, I believe, has been the case in Patna, but no general, or deep impression, can be made on a great system of error, or in favour of the truth, on so great a community, by an agency at once so feeble and so imperfectly qualified. By means of a mission of this description, a few persons may be truely converted to God, and this is, no doubt, of much importance, but the general effect on the mass of the population, is not to move it steadily, though it may be slowly, to the general reception of Christianity, but to keep up a constant and ineffectual irritation, any thing save favourable to its complete success. This, I fear, has been the case in several large places, where small and ineffective missions have long existed, in a languishing state, in consequence of which, the natives have become irritated against Christianity, as an intrusive system, without ever being able to understand its characrer and doctrines. The funds of societies are little better than wasted in the support of such missions. A long list of stations, occupied by the agents of a society, may look very well in the eyes of those who know nothing of India, but will not be regarded as of much importance by those who are well acquainted with the nature, and the amount of the difficulties to be encountered, and the work to be done. Were the conductors of the Baptist missionary society, at once to settle four or five well educated, and talented missionaries in Patna, and, at the same time, to open superior educational institutions, in connexion with their already existing mission, a great change would undoubtedly take place before long, and though success might not be immediate, the feelings of the people towards Christianity, would gradually be mollified, and the best, and highest results would be ultimately obtained. It is remarkable, that neither the Church, nor London missionary societies, have done any thing for Patna. Should the Baptist society not be able to strengthen their mission, I would strongly recommend it to the attention of the Free Church of Scotland, and Dr. Duff, and his able colleagues, in Calcutta. An institution on the plan of their Calcutta one, but on a smaller scale, though it might meet with a little opposition at first, would likely do immense good in Patna.

Besides the Baptist mission at Patna, the ground has been partially occupied for some years back, by another party. About the year 1832, the Rev. W. Start, originally a clergyman of the Church of England, having devoted himself and his private fortune to the cause of God in India, settled at Patna, but not in connexion with any society, either of churchmen or dissenters, having not only borne all his own expenses, but contributed with great liberality to the support of other labourers in the field, and also brought out to India a considerable number of useful men from Germany, most of whom are still his assistants in the missions, which he has formed.

Mr. Start had seceded from the Church of England on conscientious grounds, about the time he came out to India, but as far as I am aware, he has never formally joined any other religious denomination. His sentiments are, however, generally regarded as of the same nature, as those usually professed by what are called the Plymouth Brethren, but whether or not, he is considered a member of that body, I am not aware. But though not professing the sentiments of any one denomination, Mr. Start has generally, with much catholicity of feeling, and Christian liberality, more or less assisted, and held communion with all, both by personal intercourse, and pecuniary contributions. His principal efforts, however, have been directed to the formation of what he hoped would be "self supporting missions," composed of plain Christian men, who, by forming small colonies among the heathen, might be able, both by teaching and example, to recommend the gospel to their attention, while by working at their respective businesses, they might obtain their own temporal support; thus bearing the character, more of witnesses among the people, than that of men exclusively devoted to public teaching. To carry out this plan, Mr. Start has brought at several times from Germany, I think, about twenty young men. A few of these have been ordained ministers, some schoolmasters, but the greater part, mechanics. Besides at Patna, these assistants of Mr. Start, are now settled in several parts of the country, such as Gaya and Arrah, to the south of the Ganges in

Bahár, and at Hájipur, Chapra and Muzuffurpur, to the north, besides at Darjeeling on the lower range of the Hamalaya mountains. All these stations, have hitherto been supported by Mr. Start himself, with, perhaps, some aid from a few friends holding similar sentiments. These German missionaries in Mr. Start's connexion, are not generally considered to be under any engagement, either expressed or understood, to remain with him permanently, or to preach his peculiar views. In fact, some of them do not seem to have been aware, when they joined him, that he held sentiments at all different from what are usual among evangelical Churches. This subsequently led to some uneasiness in the minds of several of them, as they seemed to think, that while he did not in the least interfere with their liberty of conscience, he was not a little disappointed to find, that they had not fallen more readily in with his sentiments. While some of them also, were able to go on comfortably, with the self-supporting plan, others felt, that engaging so much in secular business, did not at all comport with their usefulness as missionaries, in a country where studious, as well as active habits, are so much required, as in India.

It is not improbable that the plan might have succeeded better in South Africa, or some other country, whose natives were in a ruder state, and where, from the demands of a colony, greater encouragment might have been given, to men who could support themselves by mechanical labour. But in India, where almost every sort of business, or art, is already practised with more advantage by the natives themselves, there was little room for success in any ordinary trade, unless at the sacrifice of such an amount of time, labour, and close attention to business, as would render all efficient study, and well directed missionary efforts, next to impossible. To say that the plan has been a failure, might be saying too much, but there has, as yet, been little appearance of the hopes of its pious, and benevolent promoter, being realized to any great extent. Some of the German missionaries, who have come to India in this way, have since preferred connecting themselves with different societies. Two are now in connexion with the London society, at Benares and Mirzapur, and

several others have joined the Church, and Baptist societies. Some of them previously held Baptist sentiments, and, therefore, very naturally inclined to that body, while others, having in Germany been Lutherans, were more disposed towards the church of England. As the whole mission is dependent on Mr. Start, who is now in England, there seems to be little prospect of permanency in its operations, unless something is done to give it more organized support. Were its founder, and almost sole supporter, removed by death, the whole body would be, almost of necessity, dissolved, though its agents might not be lost to India, as most of them would likely be supported, either by individuals, or societies.

From Patna to Dynapur, there is but little interruption in the buildings, though the distance is about eight miles. The part nearest to Patna, is called Bankipur, and is the European station at which the magistrates, and other public functionaries, reside. A church has recently been built, and a chaplain officiates to a very small congregation; for, though the native city is large, the European residents are few. If the congregation is small, the minister's reputation for efficiency is not much greater. I am not aware that his moral character has ever been impeached, but the bishop is reported to have been much dissatisfied with him, and to have found fault with him several times; getting little for his pains, but stubborn resistance. The episcopal authority could not silence him, nor improve him in fitness for his office.

There is a curious building here, that from a distance resemblances the popular prints of the tower of Babel, and does little more credit to its architects, than that celebrated edifice did. Its design, however, was more benevolent, and did more credit to the heart, if not to the head, of its projectors. It was intended for a public granary, in which grain might be stored up by the government, when abundant, to sell to the poor, in order to keep down the prices in seasons of scarcity, and thus prevent the recurrence of those disastrous dearths, so common in India, from occasional failures of the periodical rains. The plan was, to have a winding staircase outside the building, leading up to the top, so that the

grain might be carried up, and poured in, at an aperture above, and taken out, as required, from below. The walls, however, were found to be too weak, so that if filled with grain, the pressure from the inside would have burst the building, while the door was made to open from within, and could not be opened at all, when it was full. It was found, therefore, to be entirely useless, unless as a dormitory for owls and bats, by whom it is now occupied. Whether it is out of kindness to its present tenants, that it is still allowed to stand, or to be a monument of early Anglo-Indian architecture, conspicuous to all voyagers on the Ganges, it seems difficult to determine.

Dynapur is the principal military station in this part of India. It has good, and extensive accommodation for troops, both European and native. There are now seldom more than one regiment of European infantry, and several companies of artillery. There are, however, in general, several regiments of native infantry, so that altogether the place has quite a military aspect, and more of an European character than any other of the stations, on this part of the Ganges. It has sometimes been a place of great importance to the government, especially during the Nepál war; and owes much of its present consequence as a military station, to its comparative proximity to the Nepálese frontier, as that restless people, it is often apprehended, may, if not carefully watched, sometime or other make a sudden rush from their hills, and easily plunder the fine districts between them and the Ganges, and even the wealthy city of Patna itself. Dynapur is an agreeable, and, as reputed, on the whole, a healthy station. The Ganges here makes a fine bend. The military lines, and principal buildings, are on the bank of the river; which, from its immense force, during the rains, has often threatened to make serious inroads on the station, to prevent which, strong artificial embankments have been raised at several places.

The church stands near the river, and the chapel of the Baptist mission, intended also, principally, for the soldiers, is at some distance inland. The former is a very plain, and rather unecclesiastical building, but capable of holding a considerable congregation.

The bishop is reported to have said on one occasion, that it was "liker a tap-room than a church." It certainly does not come up to the high episcopalian idea of "an ecclesiastical building," but it would seem to be much better than the one of which bishop Heber complained so much when he was here; and of which he says:—"Everything, in fact, is on a liberal scale (in Dynapur) except what belongs to the church and the spiritual interests of the neighbourhood. The former I found to be merely a small and inconvenient room in the barracks, which seemed as if it had been designed for an hospital ward; the reading desk, surplice, books, &c. were all meaner and shabbier, than are to be seen in the poorest village chapel in England, or Wales. There were no pankahs, no wall shades, or other means for lighting up the church; no glass in the windows, no font, and till a paltry little deal stand was brought for my use, from an adjoining warehouse, no communion table."

A new church is now, I believe, to be built, no doubt of an order of architecture more acceptable to bishop Wilson, by whom so great an impulse has been given to church building in India, that in a few years, it is likely there will scarcely be a station in the whole country, at which there are a few European residents, that will not have its regular church. This would be all very well, were there some better system than the present, for providing efficient and laborious ministers, possessed of real qualifications, (instead merely of high eccesiastical pretensions,) calculated to adapt them to the peculiarities of their work in India. They ought to be well fitted both by education, and gentlemanly habits, to associate with, and instruct the higher and more intelligent classes, who constitute the Company's civil and military services. They should, at the same time, be so humble and simple in their manners, as not to be above attending diligently to the common soldiers and their families, both in their quarters, and when sick in hospital. Among these classes of people, comparatively little good can be done, merely by public services, unless the minister will condescend to go among them, and to converse with them familiarly and at leisure; and those chaplains who have done most in this way, have, with scarcely any exceptions,

been the most useful. But while some of the chaplains have laboured diligently and successfully, by personal conversation with the men, there are many amongst them, who not only neglect it, but are unfit for it; and it may be added, for performing any other of the important functions of the ministerial office. Not a few of the chaplains sent out by the Honourable Company, are but very moderately qualified for the somewhat difficult position to which they are appointed. This is not the fault of the bishop, but of those, by whom they are sent out to India. He has not the choice of his own tools, but must work with those, provided for him by others, and when the materials of which they are made are of inferior temper, no efforts of his to sharpen them, can ever make them work well. Had the present bishop the power of selecting and appointing the chaplains, his well known religious character, and sound evangelical views, would seem to leave little doubt, but greater care would likely be taken, respecting both the doctrine and talents, as well as the decidedly religious character, of the men sent out to be government chaplains in India; but, as their appointment is a mere affair of India House patronage, like that of other officers, private interest is all that is required, and there is no security, whatever, as to their fitness for their important and difficult office. The state of things might be a little better at present, were the appointments more in the hands of the bishop, who is a pious man and a sound divine, but as his successor might be a man of no decided religious character, or sentiments, or might be an Oxford Tractarian, the effects of episcopal patronage might be even worse, for the cause of scriptural religion in India, than those of the present system, which, with all its defects, has given not a few pious and devoted Christian ministers to the Indian church.

The Baptist missionary society has, within the last few years, abandoned the mission at Dynapur. It was one of the earliest, but also one of the most unsuccessful of their stations, as far as their principal object, the conversion of the heathen, is concerned. Much good, however, had been done here by the different missionaries, among the English soldiers. This kind of work is not, however, that for which these

societies are formed, and the employment of missionaries in it, unless in peculiar circumstances, is scarcely a fair application of the funds, or agents, entrusted to them by their constituents. Even successful labour among Europeans in India, seldom leads to any permament results, in the formation of churches, calculated to act effectually on the great work of evangelizing the heathen. Wishing much to strengthen as far as possible their more promising missions, the Baptists society has now withdrawn from Dynapur, but the work is still, in some measure, carried on by Mr Bryce, one of those who originally came to India in connexion with the friends of Mr Start. He supports himself by carrying on business, as a trader, and at the same time preaches both in English and Hindustani. How far his plan may have been as yet successful, I am not aware, but in Indian missions, in general, secular pursuits, have never been combined, to any great extent, with efficiency in the more important and spiritual parts of the work.

In laying the foundation of Christian institutions in India, there must necessarily be a considerable attention to many things of a secular nature; and the *material* (without a missionary actually carrying on a business for his own support) is sometimes but too apt to take the precedence of the *moral*, and as it is in its place important, and even indispensible, he is in danger of allowing it to interfere seriously with the intellectual, and spiritual efficiency of his daily ministrations. A mere talent for secular management, is apt to be substituted for those higher endowments of intellect, and fervuor of religious feeling and devoted zeal, on which, after all, the great enterprize of missions must chiefly depend for its success. The man of accounts and secularities, may be useful, and is often much required, but he seldom has a soul in full harmony with the higher departments of his work as a missionary, though his motives may be as pure and sincere, as those of any other man. Still the tone of his mind, is not that which vibrates through other minds, naturally more attuned to moral and religious influences, nor has he, in his own soul, those powerful impulses, by which he can affect the minds of others. What he has never felt, he can never make others feel. His

thoughts on things not cognizable by the senses, are too vague and interrupted, to be worth communication, and his feelings and habits are too earthly, to allow of his being able to comprehend the mental peculiarities of other men; not as mere earth worms, or petty traffickers in the meanest things, but as spiritual beings, having thoughts, desires, and capabilities superior to their present state. In an Indian missionary, intellectual powers are most required, next to real piety, and purity of soul. A holy adaptation of the mind to the great object in view, is wanted, so as to lead to the prominent and almost spontaneous and necessary exhibition, of the essential principles of the gospel, in ever new and interesting forms. But without an almost entire liberation from secularities, such a state of mind can rarely, if ever, be attained, even by men of high Christian character. But though it is most undesirable, that a missionary in India, should have his attention much engaged in secular pursuits, especially as the way of procuring the means of his own temporal support, there are many things of a secular nature, in connexion with every mission, that necessarily require attention. There must be funds to manage, places of worship and school houses to build, and many other things to be looked after, which require the collecting and disbursing of money, and the keeping of accounts. In the present state of things, many of these matters must be attended to by the missionaries themselves; and it is to be regreted that in many instances, laymen cannot be obtained to manage, such affairs; for being much engaged in them, is bad for the minds of the missionaries, and bad for the cause.

Such European military stations as Dynapur, are always, more or less, unfavourable to missionary success among the natives. They are, for the most part, full of a low rabblement of native camp-followers; who are usually the very dregs of society, and the character of the English soldiers themselves, is generally such as greatly to prejudice the natives against Christianity, as the religion professed by such men. Even the more permanent native inhabitants of such places, are often of a low and profligate character, and being accustomed to petty squabbles of every kind, with the common sol-

diers, and other Europeans of the lower orders, they are very ready to class the missionaries with such men, and treat them with a similar want of respect. Being accustomed to the worst class of men calling themselves Christian, they are very apt to regard the preachers of Christianity with ill disguised, or even with open contempt, and to pay no attention to them when they claim a hearing for its doctrines and precepts, which they see so often disregarded by those who, however wicked their lives may be, are always disposed to boast that they are Christians. This feeling is not so strong, in places where only the Company's native troops are stationed. These have only their officers, Europeans, who being in general men of education and gentlemanly habits, and many of them of very respectable outward character and demeanour, do not, of course, present such specimens of low vice, as are often to be seen in connexion with Queen's European troops, even many of the officers of which, being thoughtless young men, and by no means free from vices, easily seen by the natives, produce a very unfavourable impression on their minds, with respect to Christianity. Being almost entirely ignorant of the native language and habits, such young men, especially, often oppress and abuse the common people, with whom they have dealings. They are no doubt often cheated and deceived by the natives, but still the mode in which they hold intercourse with the people in general, is inexcuseable, and produces a great dislike to Europeans, wherever these troops are quartered. It is well for the popularity of the British government in India, that its European troops are not very numerous, and are kept at only a few stations, where the native community is small and dependent. Were they generally stationed at large cities, the common soldiers, often so reckless, and entirely ignorant of the language and customs of the people, might frequently come into dangerous collision with the native population, and occasion immense trouble to the civil authorities.

The Company's own officers can generally manage the natives much better than the Queen's officers can do. The latter usually stay only a short time in India, and continue strangers among them,

while the former come out to the country as youths, where they learn the language, and, from the first, associate on friendly terms with the more respectable classes of the natives. They also daily come into contact, in the performance of their duties, with all sorts of people in the country, as well as with their own men, who are all, including the inferior officers, natives of India. They thus become well acquainted with the character of the people, and often, to a considerable extent, sympathize with them, and in many cases are attached to them, and really wish to promote their interests. Many of them obtain great influence over the minds of their men, who are shrewd and discerning as it respects the characters of their officers, and in cases where those officers are real Christians, and it is pleasing to know that a good many are so, their influence is of a most beneficial nature, in recommending Christianity to the natives. Unlike the Queen's officers, they can hold full intercourse with the people, as they can speak their language, and know many of their sentiments. Their transactions with them, are also, better conducted, and hence their general intercourse produces a more favourable feeling towards Europeans. Still, however, there are very many exceptions even among the men of some experience, in the Company's service, while the conduct of a good proportion of the young and inexperienced towards the natives, is often harsh and unfeeling, not so much, generally, from a disposition to be oppressive, as from the mere thoughtlessness of youth, sometimes prematurely entrusted with considerable power.

Taking into account the general deficiency of suitable means of grace, the progress of religion, during the last twenty or thirty years, in the Indian army, as well as among the civil officers of the Company, may be said to have been considerable. The instances of devoted piety, and of princely liberality, in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people of India, to be met with among the servants of the Company, are of the most encouraging character, and are rarely paralleled in England. It would be easy to give a list of the names of gentlemen, high in both services, whose personal labours in the cause of God, while even their professional

duties required the most arduous efforts both of body and mind, might well excite wonder and admiration; while they are to be found, at the same time, cheerfully contributing a large amount, out of their official incomes, or private fortunes, to the support of Christian schools, the printing of the Scriptures, the circulation of Christian and other useful books, and the extension of missionary operations.

The late wars have, no doubt, greatly hindered the progress of religion among military men. On the junior officers, especially, their influence has been most pernicious and demoralizing. Before they commenced, both religion, and an improved tone of morality, were making encouraging progress, but it is to be feared, that, if not positively retrograde, these have not, of late, made much advancement. The number of duels, and of courts-martial, and the details, often disgusting, published in connexion with them, and also the trials in the Supreme Court, arising out of breaches of the conjugal relationship, &c., indicate, it is to be feared, an increase of immorality among the higher classes, both male and female, connected with the Indian army, since these accursed wars began. It is now to be hoped that the worst is past; but very great efforts are required from the Bishop and his clergy, who have, for their principal work, the religious instruction of the army, in order to counteract the evils that have arisen in consequence of so many, especially of the younger officers, having been so long deprived of the means of grace, and subjected to all the peculiar temptations of a life in camps. It must be the sincere desire of every Christian, that India may now have rest and peace—that the word of God may spread—and that useful knowledge and advancing civilization may, henceforth, be unobstructed in this great country, either by hostile movements, or political convulsions.

CHAPTER XI.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GANGES AND ITS TRIBUTARIES ABOVE DYNAPUR.—SITE OF ANCIENT PALIBOTHRA.—STATION OF THE GERMAN MISSION AT CHUPRA.—MODES OF IRRIGATING THE FIELDS, &C.—BUXAR.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN 1764.—REMARKS ON DEPOSED NATIVE RAJAS.

THE country above Dynapur, like that below it, continues both fruitful and populous. The Ganges is full of sand banks and islands, though smaller than those farther down. The river itself begins to appear more contracted. This is not to be wondered at, considering that in this district, besides many minor streams it receives the waters of three great rivers. At Hájipur, a little below Dynapur, the Ganduck falls into the Ganges. It descends from the snowy range of the Eastern Hamalaya, and after traversing the rich district of country between the Ganges and Nepál, and receiving many tributary streams, here joins the great river. A little above Dynapur, at a place called Revelgunj, the large river Dewá, formed by the combined waters of the Gogra and Rabti, and many other minor rivers coming down from the lofty regions of Tibet and the snowy mountains, after having watered a considerable district of country, unites with the main stream of the Ganges. The Dewá is often swollen during the rains into an immense river, of some miles in breadth, but during the dry seasons it is small, as its sources being in the mountains, depend on the annual meltings of the snows, and the sudden and overwhelming rains to which those elevated regions are exposed. Great quantities of wood are floated down from the mountains, by these rivers, during the rains, and then by the Ganges to the lower provinces of Bengal. The logs are fixed together in rafts, in the middle of each of which is fastened a canoe, generally hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, like those used by some of the South Sea Islanders. In this canoe, the men who steer

the rafts, live night and day. When their wood has been disposed of down the country, they club together, and putting one canoe into another, return home to the upper provinces, one acting as steersman and the others towing them along against the stream. As they usually go down with the rafts in the rains, they are to be seen in hundreds on their way back, in the cold season. While floating down the river, these large rafts of wood are often very unmanageable, in places where the stream is rapid, and are dangerous to vessels going up, occasioning wrecks, by dashing against them. This danger is greatly increased by the characteristic apathy of the Hindustani boatmen, who would seem to make a point of conscience, never to do any thing to avert a danger till it is too late. When an accident takes place they console themselves with the reflection, that it had been "written on their foreheads," as their certain fate, the fulfilment of which, no activity or foresight could possibly have prevented. I have often seen them sit still, and very composedly smoke their pipes, looking at a large vessel borne along by a powerful current, coming right against them, answering every remonstrance by cooly saying, "She will go past, she will go past," till crash go the two vessels against each other, breaking spars and knocking to pieces some of the cabin windows! One almost instinctively exclaims, "Now you stupid fellows, did not I warn you? why did you not take care?" But the only answer is; "what can we do?" "It has been written in our fate;" or "what is written in our foreheads cannot be blotted out." The loss of property and even of life on the Ganges, occasioned by this apathy, is very great. The Hindoos, however, bear all such calamities, with the most exemplary resignation. One often sees a crew, whose vessel has been sunk with a valuable cargo on board, very unconcernedly lounging on the bank, while part of the wreck is still visible above the water, and not apparently beyond the hope of being saved, were anything like a strong effort to be made. But there they all sit quietly enjoying themselves, and sending up volumes of smoke from their hukkas, as if nothing had taken place, having saved their own clothes, the sails, and perhaps the masts,

and as much grain as suffices for their own food. They seem all in a most enviable state of indifference to the future, though perhaps they may be some hundreds of miles from their own homes and families. If the weather is cold, or rainy, they make a sort of tent of the masts and sails, or a hut with the bamboos and mats, which sheltered their cargo, and appear quite as well pleased to sit where they are, as to go home to their wives and children, or anywhere else. The Hindoos often place the highest happiness in perfect indifference to good, or evil, pleasure or pain; and one would sometimes be almost tempted to conclude that, some of the Ganges' boatmen had already attained this state of supreme beatitude. The calamity of shipwreck never seems to interfere with their mental composure, sleep, or appetite, as long as they have abundance of curry and rice to eat. I have often envied them their equanimity and imperturable patience, in bearing what could not be helped; but the great evil is, that the excess of these qualities keeps them from putting forth their energies, in gaurding against misfortunes which they might easily both foresee, and prevent.

The large river Sone, already mentioned, supposed to be the Erannoboas of the ancient geographers, which rises in the hilly regions of central India, enters the Ganges a little above Dynapur. Hereabouts, therefore, there is every reason to believe, stood the great city known to the Greeks by the name of Palibothra, probably the Pátálipura of the Hindoo and Budhist writers, the capital of the once famous kingdom of Magadh, or south Bahár, where, sometime soon after the visit of Alexander the great to India, reigned the renowned sovereign Chandragupta, called by the Greek writers Sandracottus, and from whose era the Hindoos date their more modern history, as distinguished from that of their merely mythological ages. There are traces of the Sone river having, in ancient times, entered the Ganges somewhat lower down than now, and, therefore, Patna, including Dynapur, may be regarded as the lineal descendant of Palibothra. The population may have gradually removed, to what may originally have been a mere appendage of the more ancient city, so as to leave it, in the course of a few

centuries, to decline, and at last to disappear, while the variations constantly, though often slowly, taking place in the channels of two rivers so much above human control, as the Ganges and Sone, may have ultimately destroyed almost every vestige of its former existence; whereas, had such a great city been overthrown suddenly, either by war, or by some natural calamity, during any age so recent, as to be posterior to the time of the Graeco-Bactrian empire, established by the successors of Alexander the great, during whose reigns Palibothra was in its glory, some definite records and traditions of an event so important to India, must have been preserved, especially in this part of Hindustan. The gradual removal of the city by new buildings being raised in one direction, as convenience or taste dictated, and the neglect of others till they decayed, would have excited no particular attention, being more or less common in nearly all the cities on the Ganges, till the Muhammadan conquest, by giving the character of a provincial capital to Patna, drew the population more entirely within its limits. As the ancient Pátáli-pura was, at one time, the chief seat of Budhism, in this part of India, it is not unlikely, that, to a large extent, its decay may have been occasioned by the religious discord, caused by the violent contests for ascendancy, between the Brahmans and Budhists, and which, as in the case of Benares, and other old cities, may have led to the rapid decline, and ultimately to the entire disappearance of the more ancient city, inhabited by the more unsuccessful party of religionists, every monument of whose existence, and heresy, the Brahmans would most industriously destroy, while the solid materials of the more permanent buildings, and especially of the religious edifices, would, as in other cases, be transported for use to the more modern city.

Near the junction of the Sone with the Ganges, the navigation of the river is sometimes rather difficult in the rains, owing to the number of sand banks. Here, on one occasion, I witnessed an instance of the very strict attention which some of the Hindoo boatmen pay to the ceremonial rules of their caste, though, in general, they are by no means the most distinguished of the people, either

for orthodoxy of creed, or consistency of practice. It is not lawful for Hindoos, of the ordinary castes, to eat any sort of food cooked on board a vessel. Hence they must always land to cook on the shore, and if they go so far to sea as to render this impossible, they must take with them dry cooked food, or live merely on parched, or even common, uncooked grain. The Muhammadans, of course, have no such rule, and hence they constitute the main body of the sea going classes on the coasts; but, on the Ganges, a large proportion of the boatmen are Hindoos, who must always land to prepare and eat their meals, otherwise they would lose their castes. It so happened, on the occasion alluded to, that the Hindoos had not got on shore to cook during the whole day, and, consequently, when night came, they were all very hungry and eager for their supper. A little after sunset, however, we got entangled among sand banks and shallows, a considerable way from land, near the mouth of the Sone, and after labouring with all their might, till they were completely exhausted, and it was so late as ten o'clock at night, they could not get the vessel to any place where there was dry land to cook, and it had even become so dark that they could not see the shore. Tired and hungry, they gave up in despair, and sat down on deck, looking wistfully on, while the Christians and Muhammadans were eating their warm and comfortable supper on board, laughing at them, both for their bungling navigation, and their superstitious scruples. But they endured all, without repining, or getting angry at the taunts of their more fortunate companions; and though they had tasted nothing throughout the day, except a few dry pease, and a drink of water, and were too fatigued and spiritless to make a joke about the matter, they all went to sleep supperless, rather than violate the customary rule of their caste, by boiling rice, or baking a few cakes on the vessel; though not one of them had ever in his lifetime, heard a single reason assigned for a custom so preposterous and inconvenient, especially to men who have to earn their bread on the water.

A little below the junction of the Dewá with the Ganges, and on the northern bank, is situated the town of Chupra, which is the

European station for the neighbouring district. A mission in connexion with the Berlin missionary society, has been commenced at this place, as well as one by the Germans, associated with Mr. Start. Their missions are of too recent origin, to have given any reasonable expectations of much actual success as yet, though they have not been, without some degree of encouragement. The whole district is one of great importance, and presents a large and interesting field of missionary labour. Chupra itself, is not a very compact town, but seems to be formed of a number of separate villages and bazárs, straggling along the bank of the river, containing altogether, a considerable number of inhabitants, both Hindoo and Muhammadan, with a few European families in the neighbourhood. None of the towns in the district are very large, but the country is exceedingly productive, and is covered with villages, containing an immense rural population. Here the Ganges has shifted its course, so that the town, which once stood on the main stream, is now on a mere branch of the river, which is not navigable in the dry season. Close by the mouth of the Dewá, there is the town of Revelgunj, a place of considerable trade.

Above the mouths of the Sone and Dewá, the stream of the Ganges is, of course, much less than below them; but still it is a great river, and though its depth and volume of water, must be greatly diminished, it is remarkable how little the diminution is perceptible, to the eye of a mere casual observer. There is, in fact, so much water absorbed in one way or another, by the country, and used in irrigation, that many of the tributaries of the Ganges, though themselves large rivers, would seem to do little more, than to supply the loss which the main stream has sustained in watering the vast, and often thirsty regions of country, through which it has to flow, from the time when it enters the extensive plains of the north-western provinces, till it reaches the lower, and more moist flats of Bengal.

The great benefits conferred by such a river, on the hot and sultry plains of Hindustan, as, from age to age, it has rolled along its refreshing waters, spreading fertility, health, and comfort over

lands inhabited by millions of men, have most probably given origin to that superstitous veneration, in which the Ganges, especially, and also other rivers, are held by the Hindoos. Regarded as a most valuable and peculiar gift of the gods, the Gunga came at last to be looked on as divine; and its divinity was gradually extended to its branches, and to other rivers. Its Mysterious origin amidst the eternal snows, and impenetrable masses of the Hamalayas was calculated to strike, and overwhelm the imagination; and the fictions of the poets of India, not unnaturably placed its source, in those celestial abodes, accessible only to beings of a superior order; or to men who by superhuman devotion, have emancipated themselves from the influence of the body, and its organs, and became able, by a mere volition, to ascend through the aerial regions, and sit as equals among the assembled gods, on the summit of Kailása. Rising in heaven, and descending to earth, for the nourishment of all terrestrial creatures, the "life giving," and "life supporting Gunga," could be nothing less than divine.

Hence the poetry of India dwells constantly on the noble Gunga, and other rivers, and always applies epithets to them indicative of admiration, and often of veneration, as if they were endowed with moral qualities, and even divine attributes. But while, in European poetry, the scenery on the banks of rivers is most celebrated for its greenness, fertility, &c., the poetry of India, while it often refers to the same objects, dwells much more than that of Europe on the refreshing nature of the waters, of the rivers, themselves. The great and constant utility of the rivers, in so hot a country as India, becomes the principal object of attention on the part of the people, and hence it is noticed much more by the poets, than is usual in European compositions of the same nature. The immediate banks of tropical rivers, also, are not generally so beautiful as are those of colder climates. The fluctuations in the height of the stream are so great, that the banks are often completely overflowed, so as entirely to destroy all ornamental cultivation in their vicinity, unless at a great elevation above the water, or strongly protected by art; or, on the other hand, the water is so low, as to leave considerable

spaces covered with sand, or mud, between the more regular stream, and the permanently cultivated, or green banks. Such spaces are, during the dry season, often of miles in extent on the Ganges, and being destitute of trees and gardens, or permanent cultivation of any kind, can have very little of the picturesque, unless what arises from the view of a fine river, always, in itself, an interesting object. The Hindoo poets, however, dwell constantly on their noble rivers, and though they speak more of the cooling, refreshing waters themselves, and of their power in purifying, not only the body, but also the soul, as well as of the divine nature of the Gunga, in particular, as descended from heaven; they derive much of their imagery from the scenes on their banks. The popular songs, especially those sung by the strolling performers, and religious devotees, are full of such references to the rivers, and their banks, of which the following may be taken as a specimen, or, rather, imitation. These songs are generally sung to a sort of chiming sound, made on a small instrument, something like a guitar, or to a few rude notes on a little drum, or sort of tambourine, the voice rising or falling, according to the idea of the performer respecting the nature of his subject.

FAQEER'S SONG.

SINCE the days of my youth, O how far have I wandered!
How strange seems the way! O how much like a dream!
But where are the scenes, like the scenes of my childhood,
When all heedless I roamed by the Chumbul's clear stream?

I have climbed the steep sides of the lofty Hamála,
And gazed on their summits in morning's bright gleam;
I have strayed through the sweet scented groves of Bengála,
But I sighed for the gay banks of Chumbul's clear stream.

Gently and softly flows the Nirbudda,
Pure are its waters, and holy they seem;
And lovely the banks of the far wandering Kistna,
But to me, O how dearer the Chumbul's clear stream!

Broad is the Sutledje, and rapid the Chenáb,
And whirling the Indus runs to the main;
But true, as the Chakwá* turns to the moon-beams,
My heart wanders back to the Chumbul again.

Rich are the fields by the slow winding Ghumti,
And fair are the lands that are laved by the Sone;
But fairer and dearer the banks of the Chumbul,
Where my thoughts dwell with fondness on days that are gone.

Through gardens and palaces glides the fair Jumna,
And royal the cities that rise o'er its tide;
But to me, O how purer the sweet rippling Chumbul,
Where gladsome I bounded in youth's early pride!

Divine are the Gunga's all nourishing waters,
How glorious they shine in the sun's setting beam!
And lovely the scenes on the green banks of Dewá;
But lovelier by far is the Chumbul's clear stream.

Few countries are more favoured with fine rivers than India. Even when these are not near, there is, in general, a great abundance of wholesome water easily found, either for domestic use, or for irrigating the fields, by merely digging wells of comparitively

* The chakwá is a species of waterfowl often to be seen on the Ganges, and from its habit of always sitting with its head turned to the moon at night, it is supposed, by the natives, to be enamoured of the moon-beams. The female is called, the chakwi, and from never being seen apart from each other, these birds are looked on as examples of conjugal love and fidelity. A married couple whose affection for each other is very obvious, so that they are always to be seen in each other's company, are said to be like the chakwá and chakwi, for if you see the one, the other is sure to be near. Even when a considerable number of these birds are on the same bank, they are generally observed to keep together in pairs. The Hindoos seem to have a very great respect for them, as highly exemplary characters, and rarely pass them, without some observation on their mutual love, and apparent satisfaction with each other's company, especially when there are ladies present, who may derive profit from the example of the faithful chakwi.

moderate depth. In upper India, the level of the Ganges may be taken as the average height to which water will rise in wells, wherever they may be dug, as the general alluvial nature of the soil, enables it to filter through and be always accessible at a certain depth, varying according to the season of the year. In ordinary years this is not great, and in years of excessive drought, a supply can almost always be obtained by clearing out the wells, and digging them a little deeper in the bottom. Thoroughly good wells, however, calculated to afford at all seasons an abundant supply of water, are very expensive, as they require not only to be deep, but wide, and built up with solid stone, or brickwork, to prevent the earth from falling in, so as to accumulate in the bottom, and thus to decrease the supply of water. In most places plenty of good water may be always obtained, at from twenty to thirty feet below the surface of the ground, unless in spots elevated a good deal above the level of the country, in general, many parts of which, are no doubt much lower than even the bottom of the Ganges, though not so much so as in Bengal, while on the other hand, there are many ridges, or undulations in the country, not deserving the name of hills, but still, rising a good deal above the level of the Ganges.

In some places the ground is impregnated with saltpetre and other substances, which render the water in some degree, unsuitable, either for drinking or for culinary purposes. This is the case in many parts of the district of Benares, from which much saltpetre is exported. The people, in such places, prefer to the water found in wells, that of the Ganges, and other rivers, which is generally excellent when filtered, or allowed to stand a little, till the sand and other substances, held in solution, have time to subside, and leave it perfectly clear. To facilitate this, a little alum is often thrown into a large earthen vessel, filled with water. The natives also use, for the same purpose, a species of nut called "nirmalli," or the purifier, which, after being burnt, and then ground like coffee, is thrown into the water, where it soon sinks to the bottom, carrying down with it, all the particles of vegetable, or other matter, and thus leaving the water delightfully pure.

In the north-western provinces of India, it seldom rains, during the months when the principal grain crops are growing. The fields have, therefore, generally to be several times watered, either from the river, or from tanks and wells, dug in places convenient for the purpose. After they are sown, the fields are laid out in small beds, or compartments, with little channels dug between them, and small ridges, formed of the earth displaced, making each little bed into a sort of square basin, into which the water is made to flow, along the channels, by a person who directs it, as it is needed, first into one bed, and then into another, by opening a passage for it, generally with his bare foot. When one bed has been well overflowed, so as to be laid for a time quite under water, he shuts up the passage through its little boundary ridge, with his foot, and then opens one into another subdivision of the field, till he has irrigated the whole. This mode of watering the fields is not peculiar to India, but prevails all over the East, and is referred to in scripture, where mention is made of "watering with the foot," a phrase not very intelligible to the English reader, till explained by reference to this practice, so common in the warm countries of Asia.

The raising of so much water, as is required for this important purpose, forms a great part of the employment of the villagers during the dry season. Men, women, children, and bullocks are constantly engaged in raising the water from the river, or from tanks and wells, and sending it in delightfully cooling and refreshing streams, over the thirsty fields; and the noise they make in shouting to their cattle, halooing to each other, and singing at the tops of their voices, is referred to in scripture as "the joy of them that draw water." In the closely peopled, and well cultivated districts of Bahár and Benares, the whole country is covered over with wells, and the lively and noisy groups of water-drawers give a peculiar interest and animation to the scenes of rural life, and are always dwelt on by native poets when they wish to describe a happy and prosperous state of society; and the same use of such a scene, is made by the prophet when he says, "with joy shall ye draw water from the wells of salvation."

There are various ways in which they raise water from wells; but the most common is as follows:—Two small pillars, sometimes merely of clay, but frequently also of wood or stone, are erected, one on each side of the well. A piece of wood, with a revolving block, in the middle of it, right over the mouth of the well, is placed transversely with an end leaning on each pillar. A rope is passed over this block, to one end of which a large leathern bag composed of a whole cow hide, drawn together at the mouth like a purse, is attached. This is let down into the well, and at once fills with water, on which the oxen yoked to the other end of the rope, are driven off at a round trot, to get them to which, some smart blows and loud shouts are requisite. This in an instant brings the large leathern bucket to the well's mouth, where a man or woman, stationed for the purpose, catches hold of it, and pulling it to one side upsets it, so that its contents fall into a small cistern, from which the water flows along a little canal prepared to convey it to any field, or garden, where it may be required. By this time the oxen are walking back to the well's mouth, the cow hide again is let down, and the same process is repeated, so that a considerable stream is kept flowing on, to be distributed over the fields. The space round the well's mouth, has generally to be raised by a considerable embankment, so as to produce a sufficient descent for the water to run to the fields, or gardens, for which it is intended, and sometimes a sort of small temporary acqueduct has to be made across hollow places, and even the public roads; the English authorities not being very particular in preventing such encroachments on the public convenience, where the private advantage to the industrious classes is so great, by their getting abundance of water for their fields. They occasionally grumble and scold the people for spoiling the public highways, by cutting these little canals, and carrying streams of water across them, but as they are always ready with an apology, and a promise to put the road all right when they have done; and also to put their shoulders to the wheel, and help any vehicle through, that may stick fast, there is an end of the matter.

To facilitate the progress of irrigation, there are wells dug every where among the fields, and generally one in every garden of consequence. Along the road sides, also, there are public wells for the use of travellers. These, likewise, are used for watering the neighbouring fields. Some of them are made by the government authorities, most partly with local funds, at their disposal; but more of them by the wealthy natives, by whom it is regarded as an act of great merit, to dig a good well for the public use, especially on roads leading to holy places, such as Benares. Large tanks are dug in the same way, both for convenience as public baths, accessible to rich and poor alike, and as reservoirs from which the fields may be watered. Some of these are works of great utility, and have cost immense sums, being of considerable depth, and several acres in extent. They are surrounded by solid masonry, and have broad stairs, or ghâts, with large stone steps, convenient either for bathing or fetching water, as well as for washing clothes, and holding social intercourse. These ghâts of the tanks, are to the people of the interior towns, and villages, what those of the Ganges are to the inhabitants of its banks, the general resort of gossips and news-mongers, and of all the classes, so numerous in India, who having no buisness of their own, very benevolently spend all their time in attending to that of others.

Out of these tanks, as well as from the river, water is often conveyed to the fields in a large stream, by a rather simple, but somewhat laborious process. A few small platforms, varying in number according to the height of the bank, are made, ascending in a series from the level of the water, to that of the fields around, each one having on it, a hollow space for holding water. Two men are placed by each of these little dams, on every platform, and two below, by the side of the tank, or river. Each pair of men, have a large wicker basket, which they hold with both hands, by means of small ropes. This basket they swing backwards and forwards, baling up the fill of it, at each stroke, thus heaving it up, from a lower to a higher dam, the uppermost pair, casting it into the trough, on the top of the bank, whence it runs along in the channel,

which they have previously prepared, to conduct it into their fields. As this process requires a number of hands, the land holders, and larger farmers, employ hired labourers, or coolies, while the smaller cultivators club together, to water each others fields, by turns. The quantity of water thrown up, by six or eight men in this way, is so great, that on first passing a stream, sent by them, into the fields, one is surprised, and requires to go and look at the process, before he can feel even convinced, that there is but one set of people at work. As this mode of watering is rather laborious, women and boys are not often to be seen engaged in it, unless in distributing the water in the fields, which is very easy, as they have merely to open, and shut the beds; for, though the women of Hindustan work a great deal, they seldom do anything requiring a great exertion of physical strength. It may be remarked, that the baskets used in this process, are by no means water-tight; but the quickness of the the motion is such, that very little escapes. The steam engine, will no doubt, in time, partly, at least, supersede this simple, but ingenious process, being most admirably adapted to the purpose. It has already been introduced, by the indigo and sugar planters, and will likely, soon become much more general. Were there a small engine in every considerable village, or district; as much water might be raised, and drawn off, by various channels, as would water the fields for a great distance round, and greatly abridge labour, and increase the general produce of the country. Where so much of the productiveness of the soil depends on abundant watering, and where there are so very few seasons, in which it is not several times required, before the crop can be reaped, the amount of the produce necessarily varies greatly, according to the personal industry of the cultivators, or their ability to pay for labourers.

There are no places of much importance on the Ganges, between Chupra and Buxar, the population living mostly in villages. Buxar is a native town of some size, and is still a small European station, though not one of so much consequence as it once was. There is here a small fort, built on an eminence on the southern bank of the Ganges; but it is now dismantled, and used merely as

a sort of barracks for a few companies of sepoys, the only military force at the station. The principal part of the native town is situated at some distance inland, but the few European residents have rather commodious houses on the banks of the river, on each side of the fort. Buxar being regarded as a healthy place, was formerly used as a station for European invalid soldiers; but these have now been removed to other places, especially to new stations on the mountains. The Church society, used to have a missionary here, or at least a catechist, but unless, perhaps, a native teacher, there is no one here now, to preach the gospel, either to natives or Europeans. A few native Christians, chiefly the widows of English soldiers, used to form a small congregation here, but most of these also, have gone to Chunár and other places. It is much to be regretted, that the mission at Buxar has been abandoned, as the position is favourable for giving access to an extensive native population, though the town itself is not very large. It is likely, however, to be again occupied by the German missionaries of the Berlin society, at least as an out-station, as it forms a very convenient post, between their two missions of Chupra and Ghazipur. To a good, effective body of missionaries, who would give considerable attention to itinerating and village preaching, Buxar would present a very inviting sphere of usefulness, and might be entered on with considerable prospects of success, by any of the newer societies whose resources are not very great, and who are not yet involved in the responsibilities of other missions, in larger and more difficult places. The more powerful and well established societies, are best able to grapple with, and overcome the more formidable obstacles to be met with in the large cities; but a station like Buxar, surrounded with a great rural population, might be taken up on a less expensive plan, and the work prosecuted with the best prospects of success, by some of the new, or minor institutions. By the blessing of the Lord, a very interesting field around Buxar might easily be brought under Christian culture, and a harvest of immortal souls brought in; for in these parts the gospel has already been more or less preached, and a considerable desire has been manifested to

listen attentively to its truths. But little has yet been done to bring it regularly before the people, though, whenever I have preached in this district, it seemed easy to get attentive hearers.

Several European officers are stationed at Buxar, having under their charge a large stud of young horses, for the supply of the cavalry, in connexion with one of a similar nature at Ghazipur. Besides the military officers, in charge of this establishment, and a medical man, there are only a few other Europeans, who are Indigo-planters, &c., most of the pensioners having left the place. A chapel, for Christian worship, was erected in Buxar, a good many years ago, but there is very seldom any preaching. A religious service is, however, I have understood, kept up by some of the gentlemen resident here, who read the prayers of the Church of England, and sometimes a sermon. This plan is kept up at a good many of the smaller European stations, where there are no chaplains, or missionaries. The chapel here was originaly built for all denominations, and on one occasion, in passing I preached in it, to a small audience. It has now, however, I understand, been appropriated to the sole use of the Church of England. This plan has been acted on in too many cases in India, where places of worship have been originally built, for the common use of Christians of different denominations, but are now claimed for the exclusive use of the clergy of the English Church, who sometimes act on the principle of the dog in the manger, shuting out others, while they make no adequate use, of such small places, themselves. The blame rests exclusively with the chaplains of the Company, and not with the laymen, by whom such places of worship are built. The pious laymen in India, are generally men of Christian liberality and would gladly avail themselves, of the occasional ministerations of any properly accredited minister, of any protestant church, who might happen to pass, or to live near; but the clergy of the church refuse to preach, where dissenters are admitted to the pulpit, and generally manage to get such places of worship secured for the exclusive use of their own church. A number of years ago, a few pious gentlemen, some of whom were dissenters, built a small but handsome place of worship, at a station

in upper India, intending it for the use of all Christians. After they had it finished, they wrote to a missionary, who was a dissenter, requesting him to favour them with a visit, and to preach in their new place. He wrote to say he would be happy to come, and they arranged to send a conveyance to meet him. The chaplain, however, of the nearest station, then regarded as an evangelical preacher, but now as a Puseyite, having heard of the invitation to his dissenting brother, with whom he professed to be on terms of friendship, wrote at once to remonstrate with the parties, and to inform them, that if they admitted a dissenter to the pulpit, neither he nor any other of the Church of England clergy, would ever preach in it. They felt very much embarrassed, but as most of them were members of the Church of England, and none of the others had any desire of shutting out the episcopalian clergy, they were under the necessity of writing to the missionary, whom they had invited, requesting him not to come. There was no help, but to give up the place unconditionally to the Church of England, though they only got a sermon now and then for a number of years, from that body. The clergy neither supplied it themselves, nor would they allow the people to have it supplied by others. A missionary, who from being a foreigner, is but imperfectly able to speak in English, has at last, I have heard, got posession of the chapel for the church missionary society.

It is true, the missionaries are sent, not to the few scattered Europeans, but to the millions of the heathen, and to have to officiate in English places of worship often, is not desirable, but the very contrary. Still, it is not a Christian spirit that would shut them out from such places as the above, and prevent them from occasionally attempting to benefit the souls of their fellow countrymen; and rather leave the gospel unpreached, than allow men an opportunity to preach it, who are at all hands, acknowledged to be well qualified to do so, unless they conform to a formulary, and to an ecclesiastical constitution, which they cannot, in some important particulars, reconcile with the teachings of divine revelation; but who, in their opinions, are so far from being singular, that they represent, to a large extent, the majority of orthodox protestantism.

It is to be feared, that the spirit manifested by such acts, were it carrried fully out, would shut us out of India altogether, and leave the gospel every where unpreached, rather than allow it to be taught by many who claim apostolic succession, only in so far as their characters and doctrine correspond with those of the apostles, and first preachers of Christianity. It does not seem a very strong proof of apostolic succession, to shut out the gospel from a place of worship, and to sacrifice the edification of believers, and the conversion of men from the error of their ways, to a mere point of form, not required by any essential law of the Church of England itself. But rather than orthodox doctrine should be preached from the same pulpit, occasionally used by themselves—and that by men with whom they are willing to associate as private friends, to a few fellow country men in a strange land, who are thirsting for the water of life, and shew their anxiety to obtain it, by liberally contributing to erect a place of divine worship in the midst of the heathen—some of these clergymen will deliberately leave a place destitute, for eleven months in the year, of every thing like the regular means of grace, when they know very well, that there are men able and willing to preach.

Between the missionaries, however, of the Church of England and those of the dissenting bodies, there is, in general, a considerable amount of friendly intercourse, and also of public cooperation, in some very important parts of the work, in which all are engaged. It is mostly in connexion with the small European communities, that the jealousy, and high Church feelings of some of the clergy are manifested. It would, no doubt, be a boon to some of the smaller European stations, were the worthy Bishop some what to relax the more stringent episcopal rules, and if, instead of building a number of large *consecrated* churches, exclusively for the Church of England clergy, he would encourage the erection of a number of smaller places, to be used, in common, by all protestants. The gospel might then be more extensively preached, and it is not likely that the Church of England would loose any of her real adherents by the plan; while many of the European community, having belonged to the Presby-

terian and other Churches, before going to India, would be greatly benefited. Many of the missionaries of different denominations, who devote all their time and talents exclusively to native work, are generally known to be as well qualified to preach in English, as the average of the Company's chaplains, (which is not claiming for them a very high standard) and though no man is more opposed than I am, to missionaries having much to do with English preaching in India, I do not think an ocasional sermon would much interfere with their labours; while it might do good to others, and be of some benefit to themselves, by enabling them to retain the habit of preaching in their mother tongue.

But to return to Buxar. It was near this place, in October, 1764, that the decisive battle, gained by the British force, under Sir. H. Munro, over the army of Oudhe, under Meer Kasim, gave that preponderance to the British power in India, which, through all the vicissitudes of its eventful history, it has ever since retained. The army of Kasim, consisting of about fifty thousand men, was routed by a mere handful of English and native troops, whose loss was small. Six thousand were killed, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and great military stores were captured, and as the results of this victory, the whole country on the Ganges, with the exception of the fort of Chunár, as far as Allahabad, came under British rule, and has ever since been the main stay of the Anglo-Indian Empire, in respect both to its finances, and to its military power. The British authority, over the most valuable provinces of Hindustan proper, may therefore, be said to date from Oct. 1764. Before that period, the power of the English in India, was small, and of no distinctive character, being mixed up with, and dependent on that of native states, and daily exposed to sudden, and entire extinction.

Perhaps none of the men who then acted the most prominent parts in the early history of British India, had any idea of the momentous consequences of the course which the immediate pressure of circumstances led them to pursue. They never expected that the vast and fertile territories, which they acquired so rapidly, by what they meant for merely temporary measures, would ever be

consolidated into a great, but compact empire, over which Britons should have indisputed sway, and exercise a regular and well defined civil jurisdiction. Struggling to preserve their property, and existence, as a commercial body, they became auxiliaries to the parties, most willing to protect them against others, more hostile to their interests, and soon found themselves inextricably involved amidst the intrigues, revolutions, and political chaos, occasioned by the breaking up of the unwieldy power of the Mogul Empire, which, like all other Asiatic despotisms, had lost the impulses by which it had risen, and was sinking rapidly into decay. While the mere governors of provinces had become petty princes, assuming power, really independent of the Emperors, though nominally subject to them, were contending fiercely among themselves for the ascendancy in India, the servants of the company from their skill, talent, and superior organization as a body, though, at that time, only partially formed, were soon in a position to enable them to manage the affairs of the country, then in a state of confusion, from which none of their native allies were able to retrieve them. From being mere auxiliaries, fighting to protect their commercial interests, they found themselves, before they were aware, turned into principals, in the contests of a period, when every man's hand was against his neighbours; and, suddenly and unexpectedly they came into the possession of a power, superior to that of any of the individual rulers, who were then contending for the government, of the respective provinces of the empire.

The rise of the British power in India, is a phenomenon in history, not easily explained, though often very summarily disposed of, as the mere result of military aggression. But this is no better an explaination of the thing, than that which explains the earth's stability, by placing it on the head of a great snake, and the snake on that of a tortoise, without telling us what the tortoise stands upon. The question still returns, How came a few young men, the clerks of a London commercial firm, without either funds or armies, to obtain by mere efforts of their own, in spite of the determined opposition of their employers, the command of both;

and in the course of a few years, to establish one of the greatest empires, which the world has ever seen? Whence came the power of military aggression, in the first instance, is to be explained. All the troops they had, were merely a few men to act as police, or sentries, over their offices, and warehouses. They had no army till they became possessed of an empire, and whatever instances of military and unjustifiable aggression, may have subsequently taken place, they cannot explain so very easily as seems to be imagined, the source of the power, to raise and maintain an army capable of conquering and holding so great an empire, when neither men nor money were sent from Britain for the purpose, and when all the original actors in the affair, were only obscure young men, serving in merchants' offices for a few pounds a year, and a few country lads, mostly from the highlands of Scotland, employed as a sort of military guard to their factories.

The rise of our power in India was, no doubt, attended by much rapacity and injustice, on the part of the bold but talented adventurers, who first acquired the influence and territory, that formed the basis of our dominions; but sober history has not yet pronounced a calm and unbiassed decision, on either the morality, or policy, of many of the principal measures which led to that acquisition. The history of British India has not yet been written. Its events have only been the theme of political discussion. Most of the writers have been, not only servants, but mere apologists of the East India Company, or, on the other hand, grossly prejudiced against it, and not a few of them personal enemies of its administration, or the regular hirelings, or dupes of such. Willful detraction and misrepresentation, and not a little of real falsehood, have been employed, in order to produce an impression, sometimes against the government as such, and at other times against individual officers, employed in its service. Even men who have been dismissed from office in India, for real, or alledged misconduct, have often been taken as unsuspected authorities, for many charges of misgovernment, who, had not their own misdemeanors been brought under the disapproval of their superiors, would have remained in perfect silence about the

abuses of which they complain. Still, no one can doubt, but the *esprit de corps* of the Company's public services, whether civil or military, naturally tends to lead men to stand by each other, through thick and thin, though perfectly conscious, in many cases, that they have done wrong. That there should not be very many incompetant men in such a large body of functionaries, it would be quite unreasonable to expect, especially considering the distance, and unconnected nature of many of the districts over which some of them are called on to preside; and the great difficulty of managing, and duly restraining, a large host of native agents of various descriptions, but in general of very doubtful character for truth or honesty. With such very imperfect instruments of administration, it can be matter of no great wonder, that many abuses should be occasionally found to exist, notwithstanding the peculiar system of checks, and gradations of superintending authority, on which the supreme government proceeds, and the strict watch, maintained by it, over its officers.

There is, however, a considerable disposition in some quarters at home, to visit the iniquities of the early rulers of India, on "their children of the third and fourth gnneration;" and people who would never think of charging the corruption and bribery, practised in England by the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, on that of Sir Robert Peel, or of Lord John Russel, are often found taking their notions of the present government of India, from the charges made, but never substantiated, againt Warran Hastings, or from the popular notions of Lord Clive's transactions in India, during a period of war and confusion, when British authority was scarcely established in any part of the country. The conduct of European adventurers in India whose functions were not defined, and whose powers were of no settled character, is supposed to be still the model of that of the present rulers of that country, and every abuse that ever existed, is supposed to exist still, without any attempts at reform having ever been made. The British government is full of abuses at home, and so is every existing government on the face of the earth, that of India not excepted, but if public opinion is to have

a powerful and salutary influence on official men, it ought to be well informed, and wisely directed towards the correction of grave and not trifling abuses, and such only as are fully proved to exist, and not against mere imaginary evils; or even real evils, arising out of causes over which the government has no control; or mere forms of procedure, rendered more or less necessary, or expedient, not from their intrinsic merit, but from the state of society, or the habits and customs of the people of India. Sometimes a great deal of virtuous indignation is wasted, on evils that have ceased to exist, as in the case of the Suttee, respecting which, many a heart-rending and eloquent speech was made, calling on the British government to abolish the cruel rite, years after it had been put an end to in every part of India, under our authority, and in almost every native state where our influence prevailed. Meetings were even held in London on the subject, years after it was abolished, at which not one of the speakers seemed to be aware, that the only Suttees that could take place in British India, must be perpetrated in defiance of the law and the vigilence of the police, in the same way, as they take place in England, by young ladies disappointed in love, jumping from London bridge, or from the top of the monument—a practice, which even the redoubtable Sir Peter Laurie has not been able entirely to prevent, notwithstanding having given public anouncement of his magnanimous resolution to "put it down." Murder and suicide often take place, and no law can altogether prevent them; but though I have lived for years at the city of Benares, where Suttees were more common than in almost any other place, I never heard of one having happened since they were legally abolished. Indeed, the very stringent rules enforced, through the police, rendered them, even in private, next to impossible. With the exception of a very few bigoted Brahmans—who opposed the act abolishing Suttees, as an interference with their religious rites, partly from the fear of its being turned into a precedent for other laws, affecting their privileges—the people of India seldom speak of Suttee, except as a bad and barbarous custom, very properly suppressed.

I allude to this subject, not to discourage the friends of India from doing all they can to make their influence felt, both on the home government, and on that of India, for the removal of every proved abuse, either in the civil or political affairs of that country; but to give them a hint, that caution and discrimination are especially necessary in reference to the affairs of India, whether brought before them by well meaning, but imperfectly informed philanthropists, or by the hired agents of deposed Rájas, who may have been stripped of petty territories, where they had long ceased to have any authority, even if they had been willing to exercise it; and which had become mere nests for thieves, vagabonds, and common banditti, by whom the industrious inhabitants of our neighbouring districts were vexed and plundered, while our local magistrates could give no redress, as such miscreants could easily escape beyond their jurisdiction, and get protection from the officials of the native Rájas, or from themselves, by giving them a share of the plunder of British subjects. The making of roads, the curtailment of the public expenditure, the introduction of railways, and the removal of all restrictions on commerce, would do more real good to the millions of India, than the reinstatement of all its petty Rájas, impotent for good, and just powerful enough to do evil. The abolition of the duty on salt would be a real boon to a hundred millions of poor, but peaceable and industrious people, whose simple meals, are often, in consequence of its great price, but ill seasoned; but it is difficult to conceive what advantage India could derive from restoring to a few rascals, a power which most of them never employed, except for the gratification of their own passions, the oppression of the industrious, and the support of a rabblement of insolent, lazy, and blackguard retainers.

The misdirection of philanthropic efforts for India, is the more to be regretted, as it is apt, rather to retard, than to advance improvements, in that country, by producing a bad feeling in the minds of public men, and especially by discouraging them from trying to do their best; when they find themselves indiscriminately blamed for all measures, that may not exactly be according to English prece-

dents, but which they know to be well intended, and believe to be adapted to the state of the country, for which they are designed; they are in great danger, of becoming entirely indifferent, to all public opinion from home, and thus India loses all the advantage, of a very salutary check, on the official conduct of its rulers. If the people of India are to secure real and solid advantages, from the influence of the English public, acting in a healthy manner, on their government, it can only be, by that influence being wisely, as well as benevolently used, and not as it has too often been, by its being the mere offspring of home party feeling, and political spleen, or of disappointed self interest, and personal revenge. The welfare of India, as such, is not always the principal object of those who seem to take most interest in its affairs, nor are the subjects most ardently discussed, in reference to it, those in which the natives of that country are most concerned. The interests of the small class of Europeans resident in India, have most attention paid to them; and the zeal so often expressed for native interests, is not unfrequently put on by men who have not succeeded in their own objects, as a mask to hide the soreness occasioned by personal disappointment, or hostility to parties, whom they suppose, in one way or other, to have stood in their way. If, in England, disappointed ambition so often wears the garb of real independence, and patriotism, it is not unnatural to suspect, that some part of that friendship to India, which can find no other mode of expression, but in violent opposition to the government of that country, should occasionally spring from a similar sourse; more particularly, when it comes from men, who never went to India but for their own interests, and were never known to do, nor even attempt to do, any good to it while there. One of the greatest evils, by which India has always been afflicted, has been this—that its own natives, have never had anything like patriotism, nor any care for its interests, in general, apart from their own individual, or selfish objects, and these ever changing with their circumstances. Hence, unless by foreign aid, or advice, no improvement ever takes place in India. Without an external influence, India would probably have continued to retrograde,

as it had been doing for ages before we obtained possession of it; but this state of things has been checked, and we may now confidently hope, that a more public spirited era is approaching, when the principles now being gradually imbibed from European institutions, and the steady progress of Christianity, will take a deep hold of the community, and lead to the development of a really national character, and a state of society, entirely new, and capable of a rapid and onward movement, in true civilization, and pure religion.

CHAPTER XII.

COUNTRY ABOVE BUXAR.—CITY OF GHAZIPUR.—OPIUM TRADE.—MISSION OF THE BERLIN SOCIETY.—PRACTICE OF INFANTICIDE, &c.—DISTRICT AND CITY OF JUANPUR.

THE distance from Buxar, to Ghazipur, which is the next European station, is about twenty-four miles. We now enter the province of Allahabad, according to the division adopted in the Mogul Empire, but now only partially recognized. The country continues very like that of Bahár, till we pass Ghazipur, when its characteristics begin gradually to be somewhat different, from those of the districts, through which we have passed, farther down. The same general flatness of aspect continues, but the country is by no means such a dead level as Bengal, but is formed of undulations, more or less regular of a mound-like appearance, which here and there seem almost as if thrown up by art, into small knolls, or miniature hills. It would seem as if, on the gradual subsidence of the ancient waters, by which the whole country had been covered, little ridges had for a time been formed, between irregular shaped lakes, and when these lakes were gradually drained, their beds were left as sandy, or marshy hollows; though most of them are now good arable land. A few of them, however, retain this character still, and are of very little value to the native cultivator, from being so much overflowed in the rains; but by a proper system of drainage, and trenching, they might in general, be easily converted into good corn land. But native agriculture requires great improvement, to enable it to overcome anything like formidable natural difficulties.

All the rivers of Hindustan flow in regular zig-zags, as if they were nothing more than connecting channels in different directions, between chains of lakes, of various sizes and shapes, through which they had once flowed, till they had worn their beds deep enough to drain them entirely of their waters, or had partially filled them up

by their deposit. The small streams, or *nullas*, generally dry, except in the rains, have all the same character, and would seem to have been merely the outlets, by which the surplus waters of a series of lakes, overflowed, and found their way into those through which the larger body of water passed. On the subsidence of the waters, or the rising of the general level of the country, the beds of these lakes became hollows, between the more ancient dry lands, which now appear as ridges, or undulations, running generally parallel with the present course of the rivers, which still, during the rains, spread out and overflow the low lands, or more recently dried parts of the country, but never rise to the level of the lands of more ancient formation. The latter are the more valuable, as they are not only more secure from accidents, arising from inundations, but have enjoyed the advantage of being uninterruptedly cultivated from the most ancient times; unless where—from neglect, and want of enclosure, and proper water courses—the rains have been allowed to wash away the soil, and leave them perfectly useless.

The Ghumti, which takes its name from its windings, is a peculiar specimen of this character of the rivers, in upper India, appearing distinctly as if formed by a series of artificial cuttings, made to allow its waters to flow from one lake to another; and all the other rivers, from the great Ganges, to its smallest tributaries, have the same general appearance. Some of the undulations of the country, are so high as to make them look, at a distance, as if they were really small hills, especially when covered, as they often are, with clumps of fine large umbrageous trees, such as the Mangoe, the Tamarind and Peepul, which everywhere abound in these provinces. The whole country, therefore, has much more of a European aspect than Bengal. There are fewer trees, or other objects, of a tropical character, and the red tiled cottages of the numerous villages, peeping out in all directions, from the Mangoe and Tamarind groves, so like, in the distance, to English Oaks, and Elms, and surrounded by large herds of cattle, are much more European-like, than the frail bamboo cottages of Bengal, with their walls of wicker work and mats, and their roofs of broad Palmyra leaves.

Ghazipur is a town, or city, of some importance, and is usually spoken of, as having a native population, somewhere about forty thousand; but I know not if any real estimate of the number of its inhabitants has ever been made. It is also a station for European troops, and for the civil courts of the surrounding district. It is about forty miles from Benares, by the road, but by the river, which has many considerable windings, it may, perhaps, be double that distance. It stands on the northern bank of the Ganges, the native town being lower down the river, than the military cantonments, the courts of justice, and the houses of the civil officers of government, and other European inhabitants. Near the bank of the river, there are some large and handsome native houses; and among the rest, a palace and gardens in the Anglo-Indian style, and on an extensive scale, but not in good repair, originally, I believe, built by an European, but now belonging to the Rája of Benares, by whom it is seldom or never used. The natives of rank, or property, in India, will often spend very large sums, in erecting splendid houses and laying out fine gardens, surrounded with high walls, and having elegant summer houses, and terraced galleries, in which they may sit to enjoy the cool air, in the evenings and mornings; but for want of attention to timely and trifling repairs, these fine buildings often seem in a state of decay, while the gardens are sometimes overrun with weeds, and parts of them used for growing corn, or for grazing cattle. Such was the state of the building and gardens here referred to, when I saw them. One of the native Rájas, living at Benares, has eight or ten noble mansions, but though he spends yearly an immense income, he has scarcely a house in a decent state of repair, while some of them are not inhabitable at all, unless for owls, snakes, musk rats, scorpions, lizards, &c., by whom they are usually occupied; while, for the most part, the gardens are enjoyed as common property, by travelling devotees, washermen's donkeys, and Brahmani bulls.

As a military station, Ghazipur is neither one of the larger, nor one of the smaller class. It has, generally, one European regiment of Infantry, and one or two native corps. As a civil station, be-

sides some gentlemen connected with the revenue department, it has an European magistrate, and several native functionaries, whose courts are held here; but I am not certain if it has now an English judge, or any superior courts. It is within the limits of the province of Allahabad, and, therefore, subject to the government of Agra, and not, as formerly, to that of Bengal. The European station, which is long and straggling, as well as the cantonments for the troops, is at some distance from the native city, but joined on to it by a line of bazárs, or villages. The native town has a considerable trade, being conveniently situated for exporting the produce of the districts below Benares, especially on the north side of the river. The number of vessels, usually lying at the ghâts in the front of the town, is great. Large quantities of grain, especially wheat and barley, are exported from here to Calcutta, and other parts of the lower provinces, and a great deal of rice and other produce of Bengal brought in exchange, to be taken to the large towns still farther up the country.

The district around, is celebrated for the manufacture of attar of roses, and also of rose water. Large quantities of the latter, are sold here, in globular glass bottles, which are carried about for sale, on the banks of the river, and often purchased by persons who are passing in boats, either for use, or to sell for profit in other places, where it is not made. The attar of roses, which is a much more precious commodity, is exported to all parts of the country, where it is very highly prized, and much used in polite ceremonies, among the higher classes, not only by the people of India, but by those of the surrounding nations. The cultivation of fields of roses, for this manufacture, forms part of the agriculture of the district, and in the season when they are in full bloom, these fields are exceedingly fragrant and beautiful. Indigo is also exported in considerable quantities, from Ghazipur, as well as two articles, which man has often turned into agents, or instruments of human destruction, saltpetre and opium. What is known, in both the Chinese and European markets, as Benares opium, is for the most part, sent from Ghazipur; and the principal agents of government,

for conducting the monopoly of the opium trade, are resident here. Their appointments are generally spoken of as lucrative, though the sources from which their salaries are derived, are by many, regarded as of a very questionable nature.

The traffic in this well known, and often abused drug, has now become very celebrated, in consequence of its having occasioned the late war, which resulted in the opening of China, to the admission of European influence, and Christian knowledge. In this case, an agency, in itself evil, has been overruled by providence, to the production of a new state of things, which we believe, must ultimately lead to good; but it is painful to think, that the exportation of opium from India to China, has not been diminished since the war, but on the contrary, the evil which the war was undertaken to remedy, has been greatly increased since its close. It seems very remarkable, that the Chinese should have such an infatuated inclination to the excessive use of opium, while the vice of opium eating, or smoking, does not seem to be greater, (though by no means uncommon) in the districts where much of it is grown, than in other parts of the world. Unless there is very great exaggeration on the subject, it would seem to be now used as much in some parts of England, as it appears to be in places where it is most cultivated.

Whether the government monopoly, and restrictions or its production, increase or diminish its exportation, is a question which I cannot answer; but I should think it impossible that monopoly, and restriction as to the production, could have any other effect than increasing the cost, and therefore, necessarily diminishing, the exportation as well as the home consumption, of any article whatever. That the restrictions on growing opium, diminish its home consumption in India, I have no doubt, as they make it an article more difficult to be obtained by the poorer classes, in the same way, as the high duty on spirits, makes it more difficult for the poor to indulge in the use of them, at home. Opium, much more than spirits, is an article of great value in medicine, so that the entire suppression of its cultivation cannot easily be proposed; but to

keep down the abuse of it, as much as possible, no plan seems to be better than to tax it heavily, so as to render it more difficult to be obtained, as an article of common use, and at the same time, to benefit the public revenue. The same may be said of other articles, used in India for purposes of intoxication, by the natives. That the use of opium is greater in some of the native states, where there is no restriction on its growth, or sale, I have been assured. On one occasion, while at Benares, I was informed, that, some years ago, the great quantity of opium used by a few thousands of people who came there on pilgrimage, in the train of a Rája, from central India, raised the price of it in all the bazárs of the holy city, during the period of his visit. His people were, no doubt, accustomed to get it cheaper at home in his territories, where much of it was grown, and where it was not so severely taxed or monopolized, and they could not do without it, when they came into the British dominions, where its price was greater, in consequence of its being monopolized by government. But had the immense population of Benares, and the great concourse of strangers from the neighbouring districts, been in the habit of using it as much, as these Rájput visitors, the increased consumption of four or five thousand people, a thing of almost daily occurrence there, could have had no more effect on the price of opium in the bazár, than their presence had on the price of grain, at the same time—that is, no effect at all. Were the government to have nothing to do with the opium trade, but to levy a high duty on it, whether sold for home, or foreign consumption, it might be much better than the present system, which, like the now happily dissolved connection with idolatry, gives the appearance of patronizing and encouraging, both its growth, and its use; but at all events, it is a much more suitable object for heavy taxation than the useful salt, so necessary to season the plain meals of the labouring classes, who are too poor to obtain luxuries.

There has not been much done to spread the gospel in Ghazipur, and its vicinity. A mission has, however, been formed within the last few years, by the German missionaries of the Berlin society,

several of whom have settled here. They are all young men, and are likely to be laborious and useful; but their mission is of too recent origin to be, as yet, expected to have accomplished much. One of the Baptist missionaries, connected with Serampur, settled for a short time here, a number of years ago, but not meeting with encouragement, did not remain long. Sometimes, visits have been paid, and the gospel has been preached, by the church missionaries from Benares, and Chunar, and occasionally by others, but nothing like steady, or systematic efforts, had been made fully to introduce Christianity to the people of Ghazipur, till these German brethren commenced their operations.

They did not find a very favourable disposition towards the gospel among many of the people; and the Muhammadans, especially, who are here numerous, raised rather a strong opposition. It is not at all improbable that the desultoriness of the visits of others, and the want of steady and determined perseverance in the previous attempts made to introduce the gospel, may have given a confidence to opponents, as in some other places of the same kind, which otherwise they would not have had. The European soldiers, also, as in similar military stations, have occasioned no small prejudice against Christianity, by their vicious conduct in the town and neghbourhood, so that a respectful attention to the gospel, has not been so easily obtained, as in many other places more favourably situated in this respect. The farther we are from men who call themselves Christians but are not, the easier it is to preach the gospel.

A new society is always destitute of experienced agents, and in commencing a new station in India, has generally to labour under peculiar difficulties. Every thing has to be learned, and experience in the work has to be acquired, at a great expense of time and labour, and also of pecuniary outlay, before it can duly settle its plans of operation, or carry any of them properly into effect. Where societies have experienced agents in whom confidence may be reposed, they ought never to employ the young and untried men in commencing new stations, but retain them, wherever it is practicable, in the position of assistants in their larger missions, till they

have well learned the language, and obtained considerable practice in the work. As the missionaries of the Berlin society, before they commenced their own mission, went and lived sometime at the older missions of other societies, and assisted as volunteers, they acquired both the language, and some practical insight into the peculiar nature of the work, before they entered on the responsibilities of a station of their own. Though a young body, therefore, they have begun with advantages not possessed by the earlier agents of most societies, and it is to be hoped that they will soon be able to overcome present difficulties, and at an early period, to meet with much success.

The district immediately around Ghazipur, on both sides of the Ganges, presents a very important field for itinerating, and to this work the German missionaries here, propose to direct much of their attention. The paucity of preachers has, hitherto, in all our missions, greatly prevented itinerating, than which, for general usefulness, no part of the missionary work is more important, and, at the same time, more calculated to preserve the health of European missionaries; as those who have not been confined at home by the pressure of local duties, but have been at liberty to travel much in the country, have almost, invariably, enjoyed better health, than those who have been obliged to remain constantly at their stations, always employed in one kind of work, and pressed by one class of responsibilities, without either relaxation, or any variety in their engagements. Some, indeed, have been under the necessity of thus labouring at home uninterruptedly, owing to peculiarities in the nature of their work, and the difficulty of leaving their charge, even for a time, without its suffering serious detriment from their absence. The health of such has given way most, while those who have had few responsibilities, and anxieties, especially of a local nature, and whose work required little mental exertion, and admitted of considerable variety of place and scene, as well as of modes of labour, have stood the climate best. There can be but little doubt, but that there would be much less loss of health, and of life among European missionaries, were there more of them at the stations, so as to allow of a considerable division of labour, and

of a greater number of itinerating journeys, than they have generally, as yet, been able to undertake. Were they at liberty to go oftener from home, their real usefulness as a body, would be much increased, as in their various journeys through the native towns and villages, impressions might often be produced on the minds of the people. Places might here and there be found, as rural stations, at which ultimately, native teachers might be placed, and churches formed. The people of the rural districts are very often less under the influence of the Brahmans, and other leaders, than those of the cities and large towns; and although all our central missions ought to be in places of importance, their branches and schools should be spread over the country at large, and embrace the more simple population of the smaller towns and villages.

There is a good carriage road from Ghazipur to Benares, through a level, but not very interesting country. It runs in a straight line, parallel with the northern bank of the river, which only occasionally approaches it, in some of its many windings. The Ghumti is the only river of any size that has to be crossed. Over this, during the dry season, there is a temporary bridge erected with boats, &c., but in the rains, it requires to be passed by a ferry, or boats, capable of taking horses and carriages, like those used in crossing the Ganges. The Ghumti, during the rains, is navigable as far up as the great city of Lucknaw, the capital of the kingdom of Oudhe, for vessels of considerable size; and for small vessels, at all seasons. A little below the city of Juanpur, it receives the waters of the Sâi river, but still, at its junction with the Ganges, it is only a small stream. This illustrates what we have already noticed, that these rivers, in traversing the extensive and thirsty plains of India, lose almost as much water in irrigating the country and by constant evaporation, &c., as they gain from many tributaries, so that the increase in the volume of water, in the lower parts of their course, bears but a small proportion to the vast supplies they have received, in their way from the Hamalaya mountains to Bengal, or the sea. Thus the Ghumti, when it enters the Ganges, about half way between Ghazipur and Benares, appears

only an inconsiderable, but rather deep revulet; though, by tracing it on the map, it will be seen, that it rises in the Hamalaya mountains, at the distance of about four hundred miles from its junction with the Ganges, and receives the waters of many smaller rivers, as it flows through the centre of the kingdom of Oudhe, the capital of which, and many other cities and towns, it supplies with water, as well as the city and district of Juanpur in the British dominions. Such is the quantity of water absorbed by the country, through which it flows, that it is probably as large, one, or even two hundred miles above its junction with the Ganges as it is here. At Juanpur, which is at a distance of about thirty miles, it seems larger than at its mouth, though it has not then received the water of the Sái, which enters it some distance below that city.

The district of Juanpur lies on both sides of the Ghumti, and is one of the richest tracts of country in this part of India. The city, from which it takes its name, is one of great antiquity, and was once the capital of a considerable division of the country. It is still a large and interesting place, though it has somewhat of the appearance of departed greatness. The exact number of its inhabitants seems to be unknown, but has been variously estimated from forty to seventy thousand. It has many fine old buildings, not a few of them now in a ruinous state, though still in use, indicative of former grandeur. Their general aspect is not Hindoo, but Muhammadan. It is still a place of importance, and is very conveniently situated in the midst of a productive and beautiful country, where there is a considerable number of indigo and sugar factories, for the most part, conducted by Europeans. The produce of the country around, is easily exported both by the Ghumti and the Ganges. The population of the entire district is great, and as compared with that of many parts of India, may be regarded as in a prosperous condition. Great quantities of indigo, opium, saltpetre, sugar, rum, wheat, barley, &c., are exported to the lower provinces, or for shipment to Europe and other countries. Being on the frontiers of Oudhe, rogues and vagabonds of all descriptions, as well as insolvent debtors, easily escape from the grasp of the English law courts, and

this circumstance gives a somewhat unsettled character to some of the places nearest the border, but in general, the inhabitants are peacable and industrious. As many of the country people are of a fine spirited race, a great number of the soldiers, of the native army, is enlisted from this part of India.

Though a large city, and the chief town of a considerable dirtrict, there are generally no troops at Juanpur, except one regiment, or a battalion of native Infantry, whose officers, with two or three civilians, and some indigo planters, constitute the entire European community. The fortifications of the city are now entirely in ruins, not being supposed to be of any use. There is a fine old Muhammadan bridge over the Ghumti, which connects the native city on the northern bank, with the European station on the southern. This bridge is on the great highway, by which travellers and pilgrims pass between the principal provinces of Oudhe and the holy city of Benares, and the districts along the Ganges.

In Juanpur, as in other large cities, that were once the seats of provincial governments, in the times of the Mogul Empire, the Muhammadans form a larger proportion of the people than in most other places; but the Hindoos are far more numerous in the smaller towns and villages of the country around, much of the landed property being in the hands of the Brahmans, many of whom are connected with the Brahmanical families resident, for the most part, in the sacred city of Benares. Many of the people, also, belong to the various military tribes, which supply a large proportion of recruits for not only the sepoy regiments, in the British service, but for the armies of the different native states, being all of the old Dugald Dalgetty school, always ready with their sword, in any cause, which can afford them regular pay and rations. Their fidelity may always be depended on, as long as the paymaster is punctual, and the commissariat is well supplied. They are the very men fit to be soldiers, being perfectly indifferent about the causes of a war, and ready, at all times, to shed either their own blood or that of others, when ordered by any one "whose salt they eat,"—that is, who puts clothes on their backs, money in their purses, and food in their stomachs—

for all these are included, by an oriental, in his idea of the word *salt*.

Most of these men are the sons of small farmers, of various castes, but especially of the Brahman and Rájput tribes. The latter are families, descended from the ancient Khatrias or military caste of India, though not generally regarded as quite pure. They abound in these districts, and are generally, a tall and stalwart race, but subdivided into many separate tribes, or minor castes. Two of these tribes, especially, are generally reputed to be guilty of the practice of infanticide, by destroying a great many of their female children. The names of the tribes against which I have heard this charge oftenest brought, are the Rájbansi, and Raghubansi. They are not true Rájputs, but offshoots of the same great family. A good many years ago, Mr Duncan, a Civilian, then in charge of the district, in conjunction with some other officers of government, succeeded in persuading them almost to abandon the practice, and by his praiseworthy and humane efforts, had the honour of saving a great many infant girls, who otherwise would have been destroyed. These, as they grew up, were called by the name of their deliverer—"Duncan Sáhib Ki Beti:"—or Mr Duncan's daughters; and I have understood that, on one occasion, he had the happiness of having a great number of them brought to his tent, during a journey through the district, and presented to him by their grateful mothers, as his children, who, but for him, would never have been allowed to see the sun.

It is said, however, that though infanticide, in this district, was once nearly abolished, it is still far from uncommon, if it has not been, to a large extent, revived. It is rather difficult, however, to obtain correct information on the subject. A gentleman, who spent some years as an indigo planter in the district, partly inhabited by these tribes, and who was constantly about among the people, assured me, that there was such a vast disproportion between the number of boys and girls, in almost all their villages, that he felt quite certain, that a great many of the female children, must still be destroyed. The practice is said to be carried on so secretly, that

it seems quite impossible that the police should be able to detect it. A married woman may be known, by her neighbours, to be pregnant, but unless the child turns out to be a boy, it so happens, that no one ever sees it alive. She is always, when it is a girl, reported merely to have had a miscarriage, or to have produced a dead infant. The nurse is instructed, if she discovers the child to be a girl, to destroy it, by preventing it from breathing. This she is said to do, by twisting the umbilical cord, in some peculiar way, about its neck, so as to make it impossible, that it should ever breathe, or utter a cry, while at the same time, no marks of violence are left on its body, so as to lead to any chance of detection.

The principal cause usually assigned for this inhuman practice, is the great preference given by these people to male children, and the great reluctance they have to the encumbrance of daughters. A feeling of this kind, to a certain extent, has prevailed from the earliest ages, among all the nations of the East, but more especially among warlike tribes. It is in some degree natural, wherever the principle of clanship, or separation into tribes or castes, is much prevalent in society, as it is the male line of descent alone, which gives the true order of genealogical precedence, and raises a man to an honourable place in the tribe of his ancestors. Sometimes his mother may not be of the same tribe as his father, but unless she is of one accounted lower, the rank of the son is the same as that of his father; but should his mother be of lower rank than his father, the son can only take the lower rank, or caste of his mother. Thus the family by intermarrying with a lower caste, descends to the rank of that caste, and does not raise the individual woman, or her children, to its own level. The family thus loses a step in general respectability, and social privilages. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of higher caste than his own, if he can get one, but he merely brings her down to his own level. She cannot raise him. Her family, however, will consider her, not only as individually degraded by the act, but as bringing degradation on them, and consequently would not only wish that she did not marry at all, but

that she did not even exist; unless she can marry into her own, or a higher tribe.

In some of these tribes, however, to get a daughter married in a way suitable to their ideas of family honour and respectability, or according to the customs of the caste—which, "like the laws of the Medes and Persians, change not"—requires, as an indispensible condition, that a large dowry be paid either to the bridegroom, or to his father. A very expensive and protracted feast, often of many days' duration, and ruinous to a poor man, whose means are seldom consulted, must be provided, as all the members of the caste resident in the place, and often many from a distance, have to be treated to their own satisfaction, otherwise they will not consent to the match. The father of a numerous family of daughters, therefore, often finds that he has not the means necessary to meet the great expense attendant on marrying them in an honourable way, to men of their own tribe; and to permit them to remain unmarried, after they are come of age, is, according to all the ideas of respectable Hindoo society, a great disgrace to a family, and even subjects it to the discipline of the caste, while letting them marry into a lower caste, is not only wounding to pride, but subjects the whole family to social degradation. The remedy for this great evil in a family, is obvious. No one wishes to be thus embarrased by providing dowries, and bearing all the expenses of marrying a great number of daughters, when the peculiar customs of his tribe make it imperative, and at the same time, next to impossible to do so, in a manner honourable to himself and his family. He, therefore, calculates beforehand, what number, if any, of daughters he can, or will bring up, should his wife have female children, and, either with or without her consent, he instructs the nurse who attends her to act accordingly. That compliant functionary is quite used to the thing, as part of her professional duty; and is likely, being well practiced, and altogether undisturbed by any qualms of conscience, to find some way of doing it, that will render detection quite impossible. Indeed, in a country where human life is often so little regarded, neighbours are not likely to concern themselves about

an infant that they have never seen, or to make any inquiry about it; and still less is it probable, that any one in authority, should ever hear a word about any suspicion of this sort resting on any family, especially in an obscure village, principally inhabited by people of the same tribe; among whom the crime is common and allowed. Infanticide does not, in general, excite much surprise or abhorrence anywhere in India, though it may be more common in one part of the country than in another. One morning passing along a road near my own house, I observed a number of people standing round the native headman of a neighbouring police station, and some of his men. On stopping to see what was the matter, I found that they had discovered the dead body of a new born child, in a hole in the middle of the road, covered over with a little earth. There were several persons looking on, but no one seemed to be much concerned about the matter, or to regard it as very remarkable. In answer to my enquiries, the native police officer carelessly remarked, that "some one had been ashamed of it, and wished to put it out of the way." He would, of course, report the case to his superior,—the European magistrate,—who would order an investigation to be made, but both he and the people around, seemed quite indifferent about the crime that had been committed, though it had most probably been perpetrated by some of their nearest neighbours. Though they are not a cruel people, it seems next to impossible, considering their general sentiments about death, that they should not be comparatively indifferent respecting it, unless when it happens to deprive them of the objects of their natural affection, or of particular friends, who have long been their familiar associates.

At a little distance below the junction of the Ghumti with the Ganges, there is a town of some size called Saidpur, and a little above it there is another of the name of Kaithi; but though there are many villiges, there are few other places deserving the name of towns, till we reach the city of Benares. Several of these villages have rather a doubtful reputation. Some of their inhabitants, at least, are not only suspected of being thieves, but are well known to

be such, having at different times been convicted of robberies on the river, or of having aided in attacks upon boats. Most of them are people of low caste, but some Brahmanical families are to be seen among them. Many of them, however, are no doubt harmless, and industrious people, obtaining an honest livelihood from their fields, the produce of which they carry daily to the bazârs in Benares. Others are fishermen and boatmen on the river, and are hired to man the vessels belonging to the city, many of which are constantly to be met with, on every part of the Ganges, and of its navigable branches, going and coming between the city of Benares, and the other cities and towns of northern India. Though Benares has not in general, the reputation of being a great commercial city, the number of vessels of almost every description, used for inland navigation, belonging to its inhabitants, is immense, though not many of them large. These are not always engaged in the trade of the city, but are hired for all purposes, and are to be seen every where along the whole line of the Ganges, from the sea upwards, but more particularly from Patna to Allahabad, carrying either goods or passengers, and giving employment to many thousands of people, belonging either to the city, or to the villages near the river, in the surrounding districts. In these parts, grain forms the principal article of commerce. The quantity of grain of all kinds, required for the sustenance of the population of Benares, and of its still more numerous occasional visitors, or religious pilgrims, all of whom live principally on grain food, must necessarily be very great, and occasions a large market for the surplus produce of many districts. A very great trade in grain is, therefore, carried on at Benares, vast quantities being imported, both by the river and the roads from the inland parts of the country—and much is often re-exported to other places, as markets fluctuate—besides a large exportation of wheat and barley to Bengal, where it is exchanged for rice, and other productions of the south-eastern provinces.

CHAPTER XIII.

BENARES, GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE CITY.—PUBLIC GHATS, TEMPLES, &C,—POPULATION—MODES OF WORSHIP ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES. NATIVE WOMEN.—HINDOO AND MUHAMMADAN QUARRELS, &C., &C.

In approaching the holy city of Benares by water, on a boat manned by Hindoos, its being in sight is announced by a sumultaneous and loud shout from the whole crew, "Jái jái Káshináth!"—"Victory to the Lord of Káshi!" This is an invocation to the god Mahadeo, the patron deity, and chief object of idolatrous worship in this ancient and celebrated city. Very few cities present a finer panorama than Benares, as seen at some distance from the Ganges, especially when the sun's rays are reflected from the placid bosom of the river, on the lofty buildings that occupy its elevated banks. The spires and domes of temples, some of them gilded, rise in many places above the flat terraced roofs of the highest houses, while above them rise still higher, the tall minarets of various Muhammadan mosques, especially those of the great mosque, erected by the Emperor Aurungzebe, when, to insult the Hindoo religion, he destroyed an idolatrous temple, and raised on its site this noble building, for the honour of Islám, and the worship of the true God, in the heart of the most indolatrous city in India. Owing to the height of the bank, on which the principal part of Benares stands, it has the appearance of being erected on a hill, or ridge, stretching for four or five miles along the northern side of the river. This has led Bishop Heber, and some others, to describe it as built on a hill. There is not, however, any thing in its site deserving the name of a hill; but the principal portion of the city stands on one of those undulations already noticed, as so common in this part of India. The high bank, on which Benares stands, is formed by a fine bend of the Ganges, into a cresent of about five miles, commenc-

ing at the mouth of a small river called the Barna, and terminating at that of another, called the Assi. The city, therefore, is in the shape of a half moon, with its inner curve on the Ganges, while its suburbs, and the European military and civil station of Secrole, extend outwards, along the various roads, leading from the centre of the city, on the river bank, in different directions, to the country inland. Several of these suburbs are of considerable extent, and it is difficult to say what number of them may be regarded as really constituent parts of the city, or as separate towns or villages.

The best view of the city of Benares, is that obtained from the river, or the opposite bank. Its appearance is very striking, and entirely different fom any thing else on the Ganges. The minarets of the mosque of Aurungzebe, form the most prominent object, as they tower to a great height, even above the loftiest of the other buildings. This mosque is very little used for worship, as it stands in the midst of a Brahmanical population, but it serves as a monument of Moslem pride and intolerance, and of Hindoo humiliation in former times. The Brahmans say, that, when the great act of sacrilege was committed here, by which a sacred temple was destroyed, and this mosque erected in defiance of the gods, the image, then worshiped in the violated temple, sprung from its place, and jumped into a small tank near, on the bank of the river, which in consequence of having become the temporary asylum of the insulted deity, is still regarded as peculiarly holy. Though the water in this tank is sometimes very low, and remarkably dirty, there are always numbers of devotees to be seen bathing in it, who no doubt believe in its peculiar efficacy for the removal of sin. At times, during the rains, the Ganges overflows it, and occasionally fills it with water and mud, which become stagnant, in the dry season, but still it is regarded as an object of great attraction by the pilgrims, and numbers of them are to be seen dabbling in it, like so many ducks in a common puddle.

There are other mosques in Benares, even larger than that built by the emperor Aurungzebe; but none of them have so lofty minarets. The height of the two chief minarets of this noble looking

building, is generally spoken of, as about 150 feet from the terrace on which the mosque stands, which cannot be less than fifty or sixty feet above the average level of the Ganges. The view of the city, and the surrounding country obtained from the tops of these minarets, especially about sunrise, is magnificent. It is said that even some of the snowy peaks of the Hamalaya, are occasionaly visible, though they must be two hundred miles distant; but of this I have never had ocular demonstration. In the hot season very early in the morning, you look down from these lofty minarets, on hundreds of flat terraced roofs, covered with people enjoying the fresh air of the dawn, always the most delightful part of the day in India. During the hottest months of the year, most of them sleep, not in the inside, but on the tops of their houses, the coolness of which is a pleasing contrast, to the insufferable closeness, and excessive and smothering heat of the small unventilated rooms inside. Before, or soon after sunrise, the people are all in motion, like swarms of bees in a warm summer morning, and all the narrow streets are soon filled, with crowds of men, women, and children, proceeding to bathe in the Ganges, and to perform their devotions in the various temples.

There are no wide streets in Benares, or large thoroughfares leading down to the river, but numerous narrow and intricate lanes, some of which even pass under private houses. Some of these dismal looking alleys, consist almost entirely of little Hindoo Temples—niches for idols, especially for emblems of Mahadoe—and cells for mendicant devotees. Little carved shrines of every shape, images of the gods, idolatrous emblems of every description, representing the innumerable imaginary beings of Hindoo mythology, crowd on each other in thousands. Many of the houses are five or six stories high, and some even as much as seven, while many of the streets, or lanes, between these large buildings, are so narrow as to admit of little more than two persons to pass each other at once. A considerable portion of the large buildings, especially near the river, is occupied by Brahmans, many of whom officiate at the temples, or on the ghâts along the Ganges in front of the city; while

others belonging to native Rájas or other wealthy men, who though not usually resident here, have sometimes large houses for their occasional accommodation, when they come on pilgrimage, or for the use of their friends, when here for the same purpose. Some of the largest of these buildings, have private temples erected like turrets on the high terraced roofs, thus adding much to the striking appearance of the city.

There are some other large buildings designed for the use or shelter of the several orders of religious devotees, having something of the character of the monasteries, or hospitalries, of continental Europe. They are supported, chiefly by contributions, or endowments granted to certain parties, by natives of rank, living at a distance. The religious orders are not generally on such terms among themselves, as to admit of their living harmoniously together, and consequently separate places are provided, by the admirers or adherents of their respective doctrines. We shall speak more particulary, however, of these religious orders, hereafter.

From one end of the city of Benares to the other, there are ghâts or stairs of greater or less width, descending from the top of the high bank to the river. The number of bathers, or worshippers, every morning assembled on these ghâts is immense. Not a few of them are noble structures of solid masonry or brick work, erected at vast expense, while some are merely sloping roads, cut out of the bank to facilitate the approaches to the river. Numerous stone temples, of various shapes and sizes, have been erected along the whole of the bank. Some of these are so low down, as to be frequently almost under water in the rains, but for the most part, they are on the top of the high banks, or surmount the more considerable of the ghâts, of which indeed they form mere adjuncts. To count the images of the gods, worshipped or unworshipped, to be seen here, would be a hopeless task. It is often remarked by the people, that they are more numerous than the living human inhabitants of the city. Many of them are of the most monstrous shapes; and the rejected images are so numerous, that not a few of the temples and dwelling houses, exhibit a great many of them built into the walls,

as common stones, while hundreds of them are seen lying about in neglect, with their noses, arms, or legs broken off, and treated with no more reverence than any other blocks of stone. A few years ago, a native, who was building a new house near the Ganges, took a great number of these rejected, or worn out divinities, and placed them as a foundation to his dwelling. Some of his neighbours remonstrated with him for committing sacrilege; but his only answer was, "Now you will see how strong my house will be, when it is founded upon the gods."

It would be impossible to say what number of places of idol worship there may be in Benares. I have often attempted to ascertain their exact number, but never succeeded. A respectable native, whom I employed to make inquiries on this point, reported the number of public temples, generally frequented, at about ninety; but stated, that the number of small shrines, public, and private, not, strictly speaking, deserving the name of temples, amounted to nearly five thousand. These are, generally, either small temples, attached to private houses or gardens, or they are small shrines, or mere niches—sometimes on the sides, or corners of streets or thoroughfares, or under trees, in which an image of some god, or an emblem of Mahadeo, is placed for worship. Such little shrines, or miniature temples, abound in almost every place of public resort; but I do not believe that any accurate enumeration of them has ever been made, or that any definite distinction has ever been drawn between public and private temples, or, as they are generally called here Shiwâlas, or houses of Shiva, from their being dedicated to that deity. Many of those built by individuals, on their own premises, are frequented by considerable numbers of worshippers, while others quite public, and accessible, are little, if at all used by the public, while some also, are in a ruinous and deserted state, in consequence, generally, of newer places attracting most attention.

The Brahmans often say, that, to perform the pilgrimage of Benares properly, or according to the true ritual, about ninety temples, and holy places, about the city, ought to be visited, but

comparatively few go to them all. This includes the pilgrimage round the city and its environs, called the Panch kosi—or the five kos—from its being a circuit of about five kos, or ten miles, within which the ground is holy. The pilgrims have to make this circuit on foot. They set out from one of the most sacred ghâts, on the river side, opposite the centre of the city, and go along the banks of the Ganges upwards, till quite clear of the town. Then they cross the country to a village called Sheopur, some miles inland, and thence along the banks of the Burna, to its confluence with the Ganges below the city, and up the river side to the ghât from which they first took their departure, having performed their devotions at each of the temples by the way. On certain days, many thousands of both sexes may be seen performing this pilgrimage of the Panch kosi—which is universally regarded as one of the most holy acts that can be performed by a Hindoo, being productive both of present and future blessings.

Within the circuit of the Panch kosi, the ground of Benares is regarded as so sacred by the Hindoos, that the people, of many parts of India, think every one, not even excluding a beef-eating Englishman, who dies within its limits, is secure of future blessedness The inhabitants of the city, however, do not, in general, express themselves as very confident of this; but as the opinion brings multitudes from all parts of the country to spend their money in Benares, the people of that city, have no interest in refuting it, or of decrying the virtue of the pilgrimages to which it gives rise. Among themselves, they often laugh at the people of other places, for spending so much of their time and money, in long journeys to Benares; but they take no pains to correct their sentiments on the subject; and while they are very ready to confess that their city has little holiness about it, but that on the contrary it is one of the most wicked places in the world; they send forth their emissaries to spread its fame, and to entice pilgrims to visit it, by giving the most extravagant descrptions of the virtue to be derived from worshipping at its shrines, bathing in its waters, or presenting gifts to its temples and Brahmans.

Whatever may be the actual number either of small shrines, or of images, used for worship in Benares, there can be no doubt but it is very great. They are to be met with in every obscure back lane, into which scarcely any Europeans have ever penetrated, as well as in the more public streets. In some places of the city, these shrines are even more numerous than the houses of the inhabitants, though, from their diminutive size, they occupy much less room; and, great or small, in one shape or another—either in use or in ruins—shrines for idol worship, with their appropriate images, or emblems, meet the eye wherever it can be turned. A place more completely given to idolatry does not exist, and, probably, never did exist in the world; nor one possessed of a greater influence in supporting the worst forms of superstition. Its general aspect agrees well with its character. Its lofty buildings—narrow, gloomy lanes, and mysterious looking recesses, full of mythological imagery, and strange antique carvings, comport well with its hidden origin in the remotest ages, when it is supposed to have been the birth-place of gods, and the abode of super-human sages, who taught sacred theology, the mysteries of the universe, and codes of laws, and systems of moral duties, even to the divinities themselves. It is impossible to look without interest on this celebrated city, when it is remembered that from it a great portion of the religious and philosophical sentiments of the Hindoos, and other eastern nations, has emanated; and that its influence is still powerful, even to the utmost limits of India, and even in the surrounding countries among the various nations of Budhists, and other religionists, who regard it as the source from which their respective systems of worship at first sprung.

There has been a very great variety of estimates formed respecting the amount of population in Benares, and there is every reason to believe that no correct, or even nearly correct, census has ever been made. The peculiar and intricate nature of the city, and various other causes, render any correct enumeration of the people actually resident, next to impossible. There was a census made in 1803, but on what plan I have not learned, which made the population as high as 582,000; while another, made about twenty years

after, reduced it to somewhere about half that number. Whatever may have been the mode of taking the former census, it was probably much above the truth, as there is no evidence of the city having so rapidly declined as to account for such a difference; while the latter census was most undoubtedly incorrect at the time, and much below the truth, and could not have failed to be so, from the manner and circumstances in which it was taken. Every man in the city knew that the magistrate and his assistants were wilfully deceived by the people as to their real numbers, as they all supposed they had a pecuniary interest in giving defective reports respecting the number of persons in their families; as, at the time, they regarded the census with great aversion, as a prelude to a poll-tax. They had previously resisted, with success, the laying on of such a tax, but still feared that the government would attempt to lay it on again; and as each would be taxed according to the number of people in his house, and no one ever entered actually to count them, he reported them at the lowest number that gave any chance of his being believed. I have been assured, by respectable natives, that men having fifteen or twenty inmates in their houses, returned the number at six or eight. Great multitudes of the poorer classes were never counted at all, as they scarcely can be said to have houses, but live about the ghâts, temples, and other public places, where they pick up a precarious livelihood, and take up their residence wherever they can find a spot to cook, or lie down for the night, about unoccupied buildings, either public or private, or in the gardens, so numerous, especially, about the suburbs. It is obvious that this plan of underrating their families, arising from their belief that it would diminish an assessment which they dreaded, must have had a very great influence in diminishing the numbers returned, especially among a people peculiarly avaricious, and almost universally regardless of truth.

With respect to the more wealthy classes, there was another cause for concealing the exact number of people in their houses,—their insuperable dislike of any enquiry being made, with respect to the female members of their families. Every inquiry of this kind

they regard as extremely indelicate; and those of them, especially, who have large harems, do not like, on any occasion, to say how many wives, daughters, concubines, or female servants, they may have. Benares also, being such a great place of resort for strangers, swarms with courtezans, and singing and dancing women of every description, who often live together in troops, in houses of bad fame, the owners of which, would not like to disclose the real number of their inmates. Many other reasons might be mentioned, calculated to cast a doubt on the lowest estimate formed of the number of the people; but there are at present no means of ascertaining its actual amount. The fluctuations, even in the resident population, must be very great, at different seasons in the year; as there are many who have houses in Benares, where they pass a considerable portion of their time, but who may be classed also as inhabitants of other places. This is the case with many of the more respectable classes, and many of the Brahmanical families connected, more or less, with the temples. In this respect, Benares has some resemblance to the large watering places in England. Many have considered it probable, that it contains upwards of four hundred thousand people, including the inhabitants of Secrole and other suburbs, extending for some distance around. From the peculiar character of the place, however, as one of great religious resort, it is evident that nothing like an exact account can be given of the number of its permanent inhabitants, who cannot easily be distinguished from the crowds of strangers, who, during its ever recurring festivals, often lasting for weeks at a time, must frequently be as numerous, as the people of the city themselves. There are always in Benares also, great numbers of religious mendicants, who wander hither from all parts of India, and lounge about the ghâts and other sacred places, for months together. Though many of these may be oftener here than anywhere else, they cannot be called inhabitants of Benares, or of any other place, as according to a favourite saying of their own,—"Their home is wherever they spread their mat to sleep at night, whether it be in the crowded streets of the city, or in the midst of the pathless desert."

By passing slowly along the front of the city in a boat, during that period of the morning, when the greatest crowds of people are bathing and performing their devotions, both at the Ganges and at the numerous temples and small shrines on its banks, or before the various images everywhere set up, a fuller view may be had than in any other place, of the modes of worship and religious rites of the Hindoos in general. Even on ordinary mornings, but much more so on holidays, there is a continuous crowd, for several miles, both in the river, and on its ghâts and sloping banks. Thousands of men, women, and children, are to be seen, of every age and condition of life. Old and infirm persons, carried in palanquins, or in small litters, or beds swung from a bamboo, on the shoulders of bearers, are brought to the margin of the sacred stream, and then their feeble steps are supported by their friends, to enable them to dip their emaciated bodies in the holy Gunga—to do which, they have, some of them at least, been carried a journey of many days. Hundreds of little screaming urchins, are pushed in through the crowd and plumped over head and ears, and then scrubbed most unmercifully by their mothers, or other less feeling attendants, with the sandy mud of the river, the usual and very efficient, substitute for soap. As soon as they can escape from this infliction, they run up the banks, and dry themselves in the warm rays of the sun, and look down on their persecutors, who now proceed with their own ablutions, muttering their prayers to the Ganges, and at the same time purifying their bodies in its refreshing waters.

Many of these ghâts are occupied exclusively by the Brahmans, the men taking one side and the women the other. The most respectable of the Bramanical ladies, however, generally bathe very early in the morning, while it is not yet dawn, and before the more promiscuous crowds are assembled. Some years ago, a Brahmanee having some valuable jewellry on her person, went to bathe early in the moring, and in her way back, entered one of the temples to perform her devotions, or make an offering. The Brahmans of the temple, finding her alone, murdered her on account of her jewels, and having cut her body into a great many pieces, scattered them

about in different parts of the city, to prevent detection. Some one who knew her, however, had seen her go into the temple, and the parts of her body being found, and identified, search was made, and her ornaments having been discovered in the possession of the Brahmans, they were arrested and brought to justice.

While bathing in the Ganges, both sexes retain such clothing as may be considered necessary for purposes of decency. To bathe in a state of entire nudity, is declared by the Hindoo Shasters to be a very sinful act, so much so indeed, that it is said to have brought down the most awful curses, not on men only, but even on some of the gods themselves. After having finished their ablutions, and before coming out of the water, they slip a clean dry garment over the one in which they have bathed, which they loosen and let fall from under the clean one, while they are in the act of fastening it, or tightening it round their bodies. On coming out of the water, they generally stop some time at its edge, where they wash the garments that they have taken off, and then carry them home wet in their hand to be dried at their houses. Every time, therefore, when they bathe, they put on clean clothing, though among the lower orders, all the washing which their simple and scanty garments receive, consists often of no more than a few dips in the river, and a little twisting and wringing, no soap being employed. The custom here of putting on dry clothes before leaving the water, is different from that common in Bengal, where both men and women usually walk home with their wet garments on. This habit is very inconsistent with female delicacy; and is regarded as such by the women of Hindustan, who are much more careful in covering their persons, than those of Bengal. In some respects this is even carried to an extreme. A respectable woman, for instance, will not consider it proper to appear in public, without her head being entirely covered. The large garment which she wears, generally of white cotton cloth, but also frequently of coloured print, or silk, covers her by its various folds, from head to foot, being so arranged that one end of it forms a petticoat, reaching down to her ancles, while the other passes over her head and shoulders, and is drawn as a veil over her

face, so as to conceal the whole countenace, save her nose, one cheek, and an eye. Even her mouth is often partially covered, so that her teeth cannot be seen. This dress is referred to in the Song of Solomon, chap. iv. 9, "Thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck;" that is, "with one ringlet on the cheek," for the neck is not visible. These are the only parts of a lady's face that can be seen, unless in the privacy of her own house, where none of the other sex, except members of her own family, are admitted to her presence, so that, as far as her features are concerned, unless a man falls in love with one eye, a single ringlet, and half a cheek, he is not very likely to fall in love at all. But though only one eye is visible, it is often a very expressive one, and bespeaks a degree of shrewdness and cunning, not quite consistent with the demure and retiring habits, and great appearance of modesty, so rigidly required by Hindustani female etiquette. In bathing in the Ganges, the women, as well as the men, mutter over their prayers, but there is a strange admixture of devotion, with all sorts of talking, laughing, and joking, with here and there parties employing all the strength of their lungs, in pouring on each other vollies of abuse.

On entering the water of the Ganges, for devotional purposes, if in the morning, the Brahman first turns his face to the rising sun, and at other times, to that part of the heavens, where the sun may be. He then unites both his hands together, so as to form a sort of cup, in which he raises as much water as he can, and presents it to the sun, towards whom he pours it out, repeating a short prayer, or invocation, to the Hindoo Apollo. He then turns slowly round, keeping his face at first to the sun, and then following his course in the heavens, till he has described a complete circle, when he stops with his face towards him again. He then dips his head several times under the water, and continues to repeat invocations or short prayers,—one for every member of the body, as he applies the water to each part separately, and especially to all the organs of sense, and apertures of the body; and also one when he washes the Brahmanical cord, which must be kept on, during his devotions, at certain parts of which, it must be suspended from his right ear.

These devotions are all performed according to a fixed ritual, and ought to be observed, by every Brahman five times a day, but very few of them come up to this number, while a great many content themselves with once a day.

This religious bathing is called by the Hindoos Snân, and is distinguished from ordinary bathing for purposes of cleanliness, though both are usually combined, by those who live near the Ganges, or other sacred streams. While its daily performance, is strictly enjoined on the Brahmans, it is to be practised by all other castes, as often as they can. It may be observed in other places, or in other rivers than the Ganges, but the Ganges is more holy than all other rivers, and most holy of all at Benares. A large list, however, of some hundreds of such places exists, and the virtues of each are so glowingly described, that it would be difficult to decide which of them promises to pilgrims the greatest blessings, either temporal or spiritual. The waters of some of these places of resort are peculiarly virtuous only on certain days, or during certain seasons of the year, but at Benares they are always of peculiar and certain efficacy, in purifying from sin; while during certain great festivals, and especially during eclipses of the sun and moon, and at certain other junctions of the heavenly bodies, peculiar and very extraordinary benefits are to be obtained, by bathing in the Ganges especially, at certain ghâts, of the holy city. These benefits are secured by all the worshippers, not merely for themselves and their children, but also for their ancestors for many generations back; who either still animate other forms upon earth, or are now existing in the unseen world.

The multitudes who assemble at Benares, from all quarters, on the eve of an eclipse of the moon, to bathe at the moment when it takes place, during which the greatest blessings may be obtained, are immense. All the roads are crowded, and even every path leading to the city, swarms with all classes of people, hurrying along, to be in time to get a station sufficiently near the sacred stream, to enable them to plunge in, the moment the eclipse is either seen to begin, or reported to have commenced, though not visible. The mo-

ment, auspicious for the sacred rite, is announced by the ringing of all the bells, and the blowing of all the horns and shells in the city.

But for nearly all the day previous to this, the groups pouring into the city, present the most lively scenes. The people from one place, generally keep together; the women especially, of the nearer towns and villages, sing in full chorus as they trudge along in large bands. Their songs usually refer to the occasion of the monster Ráhu attempting to devour the moon.* In the evening of the expected eclipse, the whole bank of the river and ghâts in front of the city, present a very remarkable and animated scene. For several miles, every inch of ground is covered, by one dense mass of human beings, waiting for the moment when the monster Ráhu will make his expected attempt to swallow the moon. At last it comes, and then all the bells at once ring out, every gong is sounded, every drum is beat, and the voices of hundreds of thousands ascend in one deafening shout of "Gunga mái kí jái!" while the vast multitudes rush simultaneously into the river, to get the virtue of its holy waters at this auspicious moment. The banks and ghâts are here convenient for the purpose, as they all slope gradually into the stream. Still, however, accidents sometimes

* The following verses may be taken as a sort of specimen of the ditties sung on such occasions. Multitudes of professed singers and musicians also, mingle in the crowds, and sing and play all sorts of things, but generally having some reference to the occasion;—

"The round full moon in the east shines bright,
O'er the glancing waves plays her golden light,
But at midnight hour she will fade from our sight,
And darkness spread o'er the Gunga.
Come old, come young, let us join in the song,
And all trip along to the Gunga.

For Ráhu's jaws are extended wide,
O'er Káshi's spires he frowns in his pride,
So leave your homes, whatever betide,
And all hie away to the Gunga.
Come old, come young, let us join in the song,
And all trip along to the Gunga."

take place, however carefully the public authorities may make police arrangements to guard against them. On one occasion, while I was there, it was said that no less than two hundred lives were lost, not, however, in the river, but in a narrow ravine leading down to it, where, from the awful pressure of the crowd they were crushed, and trampled to death. Such occurrences, however, are very uncommon, though there must be many accidents of a less serious nature.

A class of Brahmans, said to consist of several thousands, usually called "Gunga Putras," or sons of the Gunga, obtain their living about the ghâts, by directing and assisting pilgrims, especially strangers, in performing their devotions; and by taking care of their clothes, &c., when they go into the sacred stream. These, of course, are very loud in the praises of Gunga, as divine and all purifying, in order to induce the people to come often, and from far, to swell the amount of their own gains, as, without their assistance, ceremonies of importance cannot be performed. Hundreds, also, of other Brahmans, more or less connected with the principal temples, but often not professing to be so, lounge constantly about the ghâts, to pick up strangers, to whom they offer their services, as guides through the intricacies of the city, to the most holy places necessary to be visited. Many of the pilgrims, being simple country people, are astonished at every thing they see, and easily gulled into the belief of the wonders and miracles pretended to be of almost daily occurence, at the temples of a city, which to them seems so strange and mysterious. All around seems connected with religion. Crowds of Bairágees, Gosáins, Jogees, Sanyásees, and other, and even more fanatical orders of Faqeers, or religious mendicants, bawl aloud the names and attributes of all the gods and saints of Hinduism, and beg, in their behalf, for gratuities from all who pass, while one is almost deafened with the clamour and the shouts of Bam Bam Mahadeo! resounding from the Kámárthis, or water carriers, who bring holy water from every other sacred place, to pour as drink-offerings on the images of the patron deity of Benares.

There is, amidst all this hubbub, a perfect Babel of tongues. Every dialect spoken, from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, mingles more or less, in the noisy confusion, on a festival, or mela day; and almost every Asiatic costume is to be seen, and even devotees in a state of primitive nakedness, expressive of their pretensions to sinless purity, or entire superiority to human passions, though their greed in begging, and general irritability of character, sadly belie their professions of indifference to all sublunary things.

Along the ghâts, besides these superstitious observances, there is also a good deal of trade, though Benares cannot, strictly speaking, be called a commercial place. In this respect it is inferior to its more modern neigbbour Mirzapur, about thirty miles farther up the river—a city which has risen, for the most part, since the English obtained possession of the country, and which bids fair to become one of the largest and most important in India. Towards the east end of Benares, however, trading, and other vessels are to be seen in great numbers. The principal landing place, most frequented by Europeans, belonging to, or passing Benares, is at a place called Rájghât, at the lower end of the town, from which a public road, skirting the suburbs, leads to the European station of Secrole, which is situated about three miles from the river, to the north of the city, to which it is joined by several bazárs, and straggling suburbs. At Rájghât, also, the great road from Calcutta to the north-western provinces—the longest line of road in India, being about a thousand miles in length, from lower Bengal to the farther stations of upper India—crosses the Ganges; so that the public road from the river to Secrole, is merely a portion of the great highway to the north-west. As no attempt has yet been made to erect a bridge over the Ganges here, all the traffic has to be carried over in ferry boats.

A little above this principal ferry, the numerous vessels trading in grain, land their cargoes, and the adjacent part of the city is inhabited, most partly, by grain dealers, who carry on an extensive trade in every kind of agricultural produce, exporting the various descriptions of grain most common to the district, such as

wheat, barley, &c., and importing rice, pease, &c., not so much cultivated in the country around. A little farther up, the immediate bank of the river, is almost exclusively occupied, by the lofty and extensive houses of native Rájas, and other great men, many of whom are only occasionally resident in Benares. Many of the larger houses, also, belong to the wealthier classes of Brahmans, or to native Merchants and Bankers; but there are no Europeans interspersed among the native community, as in some other cities in India. Intermingled with these large private houses there are many temples, almost all of them for the worship of Mahadeo, with the exception of one or two belonging to the Jains, whose religion, being a species of Budhism, is regarded as exceedingly heterodox in Benares. There are also some very large buildings called Dharamsála, abodes of righteousness or religion, erected at great expense, as works of charity, for the accommodation of religious devotees of various sects; and some Muhammadan mosques of considerable size, whose tall minarets and domes, give a pleasing variety to the, otherwise, Hindoo aspect of the city.

Some of the stone ghâts leading down to the river, are works of great extent, and public utility, but several of them are by no means kept in good repair. The steps of one of them are said to be about three hundred feet in length, but it has been many years in building, and is not yet finished. The steps are composed of fine hewn stones, one of which I found, on measurement, to be twenty-eight feet in length, and was said to have once been a pillar on which were several inscriptions of very ancient date. For the erection of this fine ghât, a large grant was made, a good many years ago, by Sindia Rája of Gwalior. It was much damaged some years since, by a great inundation of the river, and when I last saw it, the building operations were suspended. The ghât itself, however, was so far completed, some years ago, as to be used by the people, though never finished according to the original plan. This is very common in India, with works undertaken by the natives, even after, as in this instance, immense expense has been incurred, and but little more would be required to perfect the origi-

nal design. Many of the other ghâts are of great size, and must have cost vast sums of money. Some of them descend from the very top of the bank to the bottom of the river, so as to suit conveniently for bathing, whether the water be high or low. Others have sloping banks leading some way down, before the masonry begins, and some of them do not go so far into the river as others. One of them is said to have nearly three hundred stone steps. At most of those used by the Hindoos, no Muhammadans are allowed to bathe, but at the minor ones, the people are mixed. There are several large ghâts, however, especially near the west end, that belong exclusively to the Mussulmans, who in their turn, of course, exclude the Hindoos. If the Brahman, on the one hand, would be polluted by the touch of a Muhammadan, the latter would regard himself as equally so, by coming in contact with an idolator, especially while engaged in performing his religious rites.

The Hindoo, in general, is mild and forbearing, and does not usually attempt to prevent others from the free exercise of their religion, but if they interfere with his own religious rites, he is very irritable and vindictive. Religious quarrels between the Hindoos and Muhammadans in Benares, are by no means uncommon, though they do not often lead to any serious disturbance of the public peace. One of them, however, a few years ago, produced a great commotion in the city, and occasioned a good deal of fighting, which required much pains and firmness on the part of the civil authorities to suppress. It was occasioned by the Muhammadans attempting to re-open an old place of worship, or rather to have public prayers on a spot of waste ground, to which they laid claim, as formerly belonging to them, though long since abandoned. It was of no use whatever to them, being in the midst of an entirely Brahmanical population, and their claiming it, and going to use it at all, was no doubt, a meditated insult to the Hindoos of the neighbourhood. The gauntlet thus thrown down by the followers of the Prophet, was at once valorously taken up by the worshippers of Mahadeo, who fell on them with sticks and stones, and other mob missiles, and, interrupting their prayers, drove them away. They returned

to their devotions, however, next night, in still greater force, and better armed, and another battle was fought, but on which side victory inclined, I am not certain. The magistrate had to interpose, with, not merely the police, but a military force, and obliged the belligerents to transfer the contest to the civil courts, where neither party got much satisfaction—the Hindoos being ordered, not to prevent the Muhammadans from praying on the spot in question, while they, on the other hand, were prohibited from proclaiming the Azám, so as to make it a place of public worship, for the mere purpose of insulting the religion of their neighbours. As it was not for actual use, as a place for prayer, that the Muhammadans wanted the spot, but for a battle field against the idolators, they would not submit to the decision, and were, therefore, prohibited from renewing the contest, or using the place at all.

The most celebrated outbreak of the kind, however, arising from a quarrel between the Hindoos and Muhammadans, in Benares, took place a good many years before I went there, and is still held in public remembrance as "The war of the Lát." Bishop Heber has given an account of this affair, which is no doubt more authentic than the common native reports of it, which I have heard, as he had the facts from Mr. Bird, and other gentlemen, who were at that time in office at Benares, and had, themselves, the difficult task of quelling the tumult.

It sometimes happens that certain Hindoo and Muhammadan holydays occur on the same day, though this is not usually the case, as the Hindoos calculate time by the solar, and the Muhammadans by the lunar year. Now and then, however, the days for these festivals coincide, and, on such occasions, it is sometimes very difficult to preserve the public peace, as their respective processions, often consisting of great multitudes of people, many of them armed, not unfrequently meet in narrow thoroughfares, where there is no room for the one to pass without stopping the other. But for one party to give way to the other, or to go back in order to clear the road, would be to confess inferiority, or social degradation, a thing not for a moment to be thought of by

either. On the occasion in question, the Muhurram of the Muhammadans, and the Húli festival of the Hindoos, two large processions met, and, as usual, each refused to give place to the other. In consequence of this, a fight took place in which the Muhammadans had the worse; but in revenge, they threw down a pillar called the Lát—or Mohadeo's staff, held in reverence by the Hindoos as sacred. This pillar was about forty feet high, and covered with ancient carvings. It had originally stood in the Hindoo temple, destroyed by the Emperor Aurungzebe. A Muhammadan mosque had been erected on the site of this temple, enclosing this antique pillar; but for a share of the offerings, the Muhammadans had winked at the idolatry of the Hindoos, and for long permitted them to go in to reverence this object of their devotion.

The Hindoos had a tradition, that the pillar was gradually sinking, it having, according to report, been once twice its present height, and it was also prophesied, that when its top should become level with the ground, all nations should be of one caste. The throwing down, therefore, of this pillar was regarded as most ominous and dangerous to Hinduism. The whole Hindoo population, headed by the Brahmans and devotees, rose in fury on the Mussulmans, and attacked them with every sort of weapons within their reach. One mosque was pulled down, and they determined to destroy every other in the city; but the civil authorities, with all the military force that could be collected, interposed, and by putting guards to defend the mosques, succeeded in saving them.

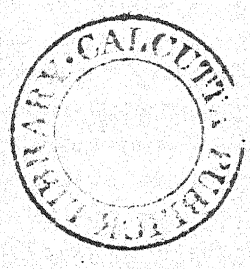
It was difficult indeed, to trust to the native soldiers; but they did their duty well, for though many of them were Brahmans, they kept guard manfully on the mosques, in fidelity to their military oath, though doubtless it would have been more agreeable to their own feelings, to have joined in pulling them down. Yet they kept off the Brahmans, as well as others, at the point of the bayonet. Two Brahman soldiers, keeping guard where the pillar was lying prostrate, were overheard thus conversing on the subject; "Ah!" said one, "we have seen what we never thought to

see Sheo's Lât has its head level with the ground. We shall all be of one caste shortly; what will be our religion then?" "I suppose the Christian, answered the other—for after all that has passed, I am sure we shall never become Mussulmans." A sagacious remark, as persecution and voilence are never likely to produce conviction, either of the truth or goodness of the religion of the persecutor, though it may occasionally lead to a temporary, or false profession of it on the part of the persecuted, to be changed into the most virulent opposition, whenever an opportunity is obtained.

After the riot had been suppressed, the worst difficulty still remained. In the early part of the quarrel, the Mussulmans, in order to be revenged on the Hindoos, for the defeat they had sustained, had taken a cow and killed it, on one of the holiest ghâts, and mingled its blood with the sacred water of the Gunga. This act of double sacrilege was looked on by the Brahmans, as having destroyed the sacredness of the holy place, if not of the whole city, so that salvation in future might not be attainable, by pilgrimage to Benares. They were, therefore, all in the greatest affliction; and all the Brahmans in the city, many thousands in number, went down, in deep sorrow, to the river side, naked, and fasting, and with ashes on their heads, and sat down on the principal ghâts, with folded hands, and heads hanging down, to all appearance inconsoleable, and refusing to enter a house, or to taste food. Two or three day's abstinence, however, tired them, and a hint was given to the magistrates, and other public men, that a visit of condolence, and some expression of sympathy would comfort them, and give them some excuse for returning to their usual course of life. Accordingly the British functionaries went to the principal ghât, and expressed their sorrow for the distress in which they saw them; but reasoned with them on the absurdity of punishing themselves, for an act in which they had no share, and which they had done all they could to prevent, or avenge. This prevailed, and after much bitter weeping, it was resolved, that "*Gunga was Gunga still,*" and that a succession of costly offerings from the laity of Benares, the

usual Brahmanical remedy for all evils, might wipe out the stain which their religion had received, and that the advice of the judges was the best and most reasonable. Mr. Bird, who was one of the ambassadors on this occasion, said, "that the scene was very impressive, and even awful. The gaunt, squallid figures of the devotees—their visible, and apparently unaffected anguish and dismay—the screams and outcries of the women who surrounded them, and the great numbers thus assembled, altogether constituted a spectacle of wo, such as few cities but Benares could supply." I may add, that the character of the inhabitants of Benares is exceedingly well illustrated, by their at first fighting with the fury of demons, when they thought their religion was insulted, or endangered, or the sacredness of their holy city, and its fanes violated; but as soon as the paroxysm was over, though no particular redress had been obtained, or as the case stood, was even possible, they quietly—like the people of Ephesus, when exhorted by their town clerk, on a similar occasion, when their great goddess Diana was in danger—took the advice of the constituted authorities, and went home to their usual pursuits. The affair is still celebrated in the history of Benares, and has been made the subject of native poetry, both grave and burlesque, but it was no joke at the time; and had the local authority not been in the hands of wise, able, and temperate men, who were popular in the district, and perfectly familiar with the characters, and religious prejudices of the people, one of the most bloody pages of the history of British India, might have been that of the "Lát controversy of Benares." Rash and inexperienced men might have acted with a violence, or precipitation, that, in the excited state of temper in both parties, might have caused the affair to end in an awful tragedy, instead of turning out very like a farce. A city like Benares, with a large heterogeneous population, being the resort of so many religious fanatics—the scene of so many superstitious observances, and the chosen place for such large idolatrous assemblages, composed of all classes, from every part of the country, would require always to have men in authority, of great attention and application, as well as of no ordinary experience.

The situation of chief magistrate, especially, is one of serious responsibility. This has been for some time filled by Mr. M'Leod, a gentleman highly qualified for the office, from the great vigilance which he infuses into the police establishment of the city, and the great respect with which he is generally regarded by the people.



CHAPTER XIV.

EUROPEAN STATION AT SECROLE.—MISSIONS AT BENARES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—THE LONDON AND THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, &c.

THE European civil and military station of Secrole, is situated on the north side of the city of Benares, about three miles from the Ganges. It is about two miles from the city, but can scarcely be said to be separate from it, as the main road between it and Benares, runs, for the most part, through bazárs and straggling suburbs, so that Secrole itself may be regarded only as an extended modern suburb, to the more ancient native city. Including the military lines, and the various bazárs connected with them, and the space over which the principal European residences are spread, Secrole is several miles in extent, and, were it closely built, would form, in itself, a large town. It is, however, a very scattered place, composed of a number of separate bazárs, and native villages, more or less respectable in their aspect, between which, considerable open spaces intervene. A good deal of ground is taken up by the houses and gardens of the principal residents, both native and European.

Secrole is divided in the middle by the small river Barna, over which there is a handsome bridge, at all times crowded with vehicles and passengers, as it is crossed by the main road to the city of Juanpur, and the whole country in general, to the northward. On the south of the Barna, are the military lines, on the side towards the city, and likewise the houses occupied by the officers of the army, and a number of European traders; and also the English church, and a large building formerly used as the mint; the residence also of the Rája of Benares, and still nearer the city the principal chapel, and mission buildings of the London missionary society, the public treasury, &c. The military lines and barracks for troops, in which there are generally three regiments of native Infantry and a

company of English artillery, front an open plain, used as a parade ground, and a public place of resort for air and recreation, about a mile wide at its greatest breadth, and perhaps about two miles in length.

On the northern bank of the Barna, the courts of justice, and the houses of the judges and magistrates are situated, and also the houses of some of the higher military officers, as well as of some of the natives of rank. A number of these live here from choice, and others from necessity. Among the latter are the deposed Rájas of Curg, Bhurtpur, and Sattara, and among the former, the Rájas of Vizianagaram, and Buxar, and others, some of whom live occasionally elsewhere, but are for the most part, at Benares. Most of the higher classes of natives, however, do not live in Secrole, but in various other parts of the suburbs of the city, especially towards the west end. Among these are the claimants of the throne of Oudhe, one of whom the Nawáb, Ekhál u Doulah, made a visit some years ago to Europe, and was known by the name of the Prince of Oudhe. There are likewise some of the princes of the Royal family of Dilhi, or distant relatives of the Emperor, who have houses and gardens in the suburbs of the city, but generally live in a retired manner. One of them is regarded by the Muhammadans, as a very devout man, spending much time in the duties of religion. There is a considerable number of other natives resident in Benares, who lay claim either to titles of rank, or to connexion with the reigning or the deposed families, in various native states. They look on it as a holy place, and on being overtaken by misfortunes of a political nature, or disposed to leave home from state necessity, they generally prefer it to other places, both for its society, and for the superior chance which they suppose it gives them of happiness in a future state.

It would seem not improbable, that Secrole may rise gradually into a considerable city, or a sort of new Benares. Since I first saw it, its native population has greatly increased, though its European inhabitants have remained, as to numbers, nearly stationary. A number of new native bazárs has been added to it, and some of these are still being enlarged. The small river Barna which passes

through it, is navigable only during the rains, but is every year, during the dry season, kept back by an artificial embankment, so as to form a sort of long narrow lake, from which the station is partly supplied with water. A plan has been proposed for converting the Barna into a permanent, navigable canal, communicating with the Ganges. This would probably lead to the enlargement of Secrole, by bringing to it a great increase of commerce, while at the same time, it would benefit the city, by attracting a number of the inhabitants of its narrow and over-crowded streets, into more airy and healthy situations.

The population of Secrole and its several appendages, including the troops, camp-followers, and Europeans of all classes, has been stated at about twenty thousand. This estimate is probably not too high, when Secrole is taken at its largest extent; but its limits are not well defined. The troops, with their camp-followers, of all ages and conditions, and of both sexes, could not be much fewer than six thousand; while some of the bazárs contain a large and increasing population. Of the several villages that constitute Secrole, two, especially—one on each side of the Barna—are growing up into considerable towns. The number of European and East Indian inhabitants is, I believe, unknown, and must be constantly fluctuating, according as there are many or few troops at the station, at any given time. The number of permanently resident Europeans is very small, as most of the English here are connected with the army, and not permitted to remain long in a place.

In that part of Secrole, situated on the northern bank of the Barna, is the European burying-ground, which, by the great number of monuments contained in it, furnishes a very striking evidence of the great proportion of deaths in the small English community. The principal monument is one to the memory of Mr. Cherry, political resident of Benares, and the other English gentlemen who were assassinated here on January 14, 1799, by Viziar Ali, the deposed Nawáb of Oudhe. That catastrophe took place while the party of Europeans, in the service of government, was at breakfast with the Nawáb, in the house of one of their number. While they

were utterly unprepared, at a given signal, the followers of the Nawáb rushed upon the European gentlemen, while he himself stabbed Mr. Cherry, the agent of government, whom he regarded as personally unfriendly to his interests. They were all buried on this spot, and a column erected to commemorate the event. The natives, who are all staunch believers in ghosts, say, that they are still often to be seen strolling about in the neighbourhood at night. The ghost of Mr. Cherry, especially, is said to continue always to call for bread and butter. Tradition, it seems, has brought down the report—though rather inconsistent with the real history of the case—that, being at breakfast, he was in the act of calling for bread and butter, at the moment when he was stabbed to the heart. It is, therefore, believed that his ghost still haunts the neighbourhood, and those who profess to have seen it, say it always calls for bread and butter, but I am not aware that any of them have attempted to supply its wants.

The natives here, as in every part of India, are very much afraid of ghosts, and will never live in a house said to be haunted by them; and there are many houses that have got a bad name in this respect, left untenanted till they fall into ruins. Whenever a report is spread that any particular house is haunted by ghosts, no one will rent it, and hence its value is depreciated. Sometimes parties wishing to buy a house spread a report that it has become a habitation for ghosts, or evil spirits, in order to reduce its price. Hence, very good houses are often to be seen going to ruin, having been abandoned for fear of ghosts, said to have been seen about them. The ghosts are, also, as elsewhere, sometimes thieves, who conceal themselves and their booty in untenanted buildings. As in other countries, these ghost stories are generally raised about houses where some great crime is supposed to have been perpetrated, especially where there has been a case of murder, or suicide. Certain spots, also—especially under old trees—are supposed to be the resorts of ghosts, or demons. A tree near my house had this reputation, and none of our servants, or neighbours, would go near it at night. A brother missionary thought he might succeed in dis-

pelling this fear, by placing his couch under the tree, and sleeping there at night. He made his watchman, a stout-hearted Rājput, stay by him, in order to be convinced that no ghost, or evil spirit, would come near them. The man was very much afraid, but braved the danger. It was of no use, however; they all said the ghost did not come near the missionary, because he was a learned man and a Padre, but were they alone, it would come all the same as before.

Seeing one's shadow when there is no moonlight, is regarded, as also by some other nations, as a sure portent of sudden death; and the fright occasioned by such an incident, to such superstitious minds, is no doubt sometimes the real cause of producing that which is feared. A little before I left India, a servant of mine, a quiet, inoffensive sort of man, who had been with me for years, came home one night in great alarm, at having seen his own shadow, when there was no moon visible, and declared that he was now doomed to die, and nothing could persuade him to the contrary. He had been in good health before, but he at once took to his bed, and would not rise. In a day or two after he died—his illness, to all appearance, produced entirely by his superstitious terrors.

We shall now take a brief review of the different missions designed for the evangelization of this ancient and remarkable city, and the country around. Considering the peculiar connexion of Benares with Hinduism, and its great influence on the destinies of that system, the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity, must be regarded as of the utmost importance, by every one who sincerely desires the salvation of the heathen, and the ultimate triumph of the gospel in India. The success of the gospel in Benares can scarcely fail of producing a deep impression on the country in general, and, therefore, the missions here, are not to be regarded as institutions of a merely local character, but as centres of much more extended operations.

There are three missions in Benares connected with the Church of England, the London missionary, and Baptist societies. The Church missionary society has its principal station at a place called

Sigra, towards the western division of the city, but a little out of town, and rather more than a mile from the military lines at Secrole. Within the last few years, a second station has been formed, about a mile farther to the south-west, near the extremity of the city, and several houses have been erected by the society, for the use of the missionaries. The central station of the London missionary society is on the north side of the city, and in a direct line between it and Secrole, near the main road leading from the middle of Benares to the courts of justice, &c., as well as to the country to the northward, so that it is well situated for gaining access to the native population, without being entirely in the town. The suburban population around it, however, is very great, though for the most part composed of the lower castes of the people. The missionaries of the London society, do not all live in one place, but they are not far apart from each other. The Baptist missionaries are located on the bank of the Ganges, at Rájghât, near the eastern extremity of the city. Benares forms the figure of a half moon, of which the inner curve is on the Ganges, the three missions, being on the outside—the Baptist at the eastern, on the bank of the river,—the London mission on the outside of the curve in the centre, connecting Benares with Secrole, while that of the Church of England is on the outside also, but near the western extremity of the crescent. Going by the road round the suburbs, the distance between the Baptist station and the farthest division of the Church mission, might be about seven miles. The localities of the missions may be said to be well chosen, for the stations are all near the city, but quite clear of each other, and while each has a section of the city conveniently near, they may all meet in the centre of Benares, at about equal distances from their respective homes, though entering by very different roads. Thus while no single party occupies exclusively any division of the city, the churches and schools of the Church mission, are for the most part, in the western portion of the town, or suburbs, those of the London society in the centre, while those of the Baptist society are towards the east end. Though there has been a desire not to occupy, unnecessarily, the same

ground, this division of the field has not arisen from any formal compact, or consultation among the missionaries, but from the respective parties having originally obtained convenient sites in those localities, independently of each other, and their subsequent efforts have naturally been most directed to those portions of the city, that are most accessible from their own houses, around which, also, their institutions have gradually been formed, and churches erected. There is abundance of room for all parties, and as yet, at least, there has generally been harmony, in their mutual intercourse, and entire uniformity in the doctrines preached by the various missions, so that though Christianity has been represented in Benares by different sections of the church, the heathen have not had to witness strifes and contentions, nor been called on to behold Christianity, presented in a different aspect by one party, from that in which it appears when taught by another.

The church missionary society has, at present, five missionaries in Benares. There are four in connexion with the London society, and two belonging to the Baptists. All of these missions employ a number of schoolmasters and native teachers, or readers, but the exact number I have no means at present of ascertaining. Compared with many places in India, Benares may be said to be well supplied with missionary agents; but when the peculiar character of the city itself is taken into account, as well as the vast numbers who resort to it, chiefly for religious purposes, it is evident that there is ample scope for the labours of many more, in almost every department of missionary work. From the position held by these important missions, in relation to the country in general, and especially in reference to the Hindoo portion of the population, there is every reason to hope, that they are destined to exert a powerful influence, not merely on the city of Benares itself, but on the whole of Hindustan. It is, therefore, evidently the best policy of these great societies, to keep up their missions here in a state of the highest efficiency, especially as it respects their European agency. This is the only security which can be had for the early raising up, and maturing, of a suitable native agency, to be ultimately spread

over the extensive and populous districts adjacent. Benares, and the neighbouring cities and country, have been the centre and main strength of Hinduism for many ages; and should Christianity, at no distant day, here gain the ascendency, which we hope it will obtain, its influence would be felt to the utmost limits of Hindustan, and the prestige of the Bramanical faith would not only be endangered, but destroyed, and the Hindoos, in general, would feel like the inhabitants of a country, whose capital is in the hands of a powerful, and active enemy.

In no place, however, would missionary societies require to have more competent agents, for on no place is it to be expected that an impression will be more difficult to produce, or the transition from Hinduism to Christianity more likely to be attended with serious embarrassments, when once the people, in any considerable numbers, begin openly to abandon their ancestral faith. It is not in the number alone, but in the character of our European agency, that the real efficiency of our missions consists; though in a place like Benares, numbers also are required. But numbers, without individual effectiveness, would rather embarrass, than advance the work required to be done; and a few very able and judicious men in a place whose population is of so peculiar a character, and where obstacles are so great, might do more than some dozens of such men, as are qualified merely for being village preachers, while, individually, they would cost no more to their respective societies, than agents of more ordinary ability. They are not, indeed, so easily found; as the young men who are the most fitted for such a station, generally meet with most encouragement to remain at home; and some of them would no doubt be discontented with the present day of small things in our missions. It must be remembered, however, that great things can only be obtained by great labour—and by the labour of men well qualified for the work. It is no doubt more pleasing to reap the fruits of other men's labours, than to dig hard in a barren wilderness, and merely sow, but be obliged to leave other men to reap the harvest, and call it their own. But some one must dig in the wilderness before it can become a fertile field, and the laborious breaker up of

the soil is as useful as the reaper, though his work may not be the immediate occasion of so much joyfulness. It may be a more pleasing employment for one, who is assisted by many more hands than his own, to adjust stones, that have been already quarried and dressed by others, into all the beautiful forms of architecture, than to labour hard in the dreary mountains, in toilsome and often unsuccessful efforts, to detach rough and unshapely fragments from the immoveable masses of granite rock. Yet the work of the quarrier is very important, and even absolutely necessary, and requires not merely a considerable amount of skill, but much strength and hardihood. So also in building the church of God in India, there is a great deal of rough work for the quarrier, as well as work for the skilful builder, who is well acquainted with all the rules of spiritual architecture, the nature of the holy edifice to be erected, and the proper materials of which it must be composed, in order to be adapted to the great object for which it is designed.

In Benares, and some other places, where missionary work has been for some time carried on with a degree of vigour, Hinduism is slowly assuming a somewhat modified form. This is indicated by a gradual change in the modes of defending their system, now adopted by many of the Brahmans, and other apologists of the popular creed, and also by the increase of what may be called heterodox Hindoos. Systems of belief are being gradually developed, which, though they may be regarded as more tenable, are quite inconsistent with the outward, and more usual practices, of the ordinary popular superstition, and the common people are becoming more and more confused in their minds, in consequence of hearing their hereditary faith, so often called in question, and as often defended, but in a manner which, to them, is altogether incomprehensible. The higher orders are, also, beginning to incline to scepticism, and occasionally treat the old rules of caste with a considerable degree of indifference. The tendency of all this, is gradually to bring them into disrepute, and to lead, almost insensibly, to their relaxation, and ultimately to their practical abolition. Rich and influential men are not readily expelled from their castes, when they transgress

their ordinary rules, and the way of return for occasional apostates, is being gradually widened, lest too great a number should break off, and not seek to return at all. This must ultimately, though perhaps not very speedily, lead to the entire extinction of the whole code of minute and complicated rules, by which the internal government of the castes is conducted. The transition from Hinduism to Christianity, or to any other system of religion, must, therefore, become much easier, even should there be no other change in the public law of the country than what has already taken place, in reference to hereditary property. The progress of Christianity, however, in the midst of such a mass of ignorant and demoralized people, can scarcely fail of being attended by almost every kind of corruption, both in doctrine and practice, unless carefully and wisely guarded, by an influential body of sound and enlightened European missionaries, who have been well trained in the best biblical and theological schools. Their chief duty will, in future, be to expound and vindicate pure scriptural truth, and to give the tone and direction to the native mind in its practical application. From them the native teachers, who must be the real evangelists of the country, will learn both systems of doctrine, and suitable and efficient practical methods, of studying, illustrating, and explaining the word of God, as well as of defending it, against the attacks of unbelievers. Rules of church discipline, and of practical pastoral direction, have to be brought into systematic use, by the European missionaries, and churches must be properly consolidated, before Christianity can acquire stability in the country, or have a native agency entirely qualified for separate action, and independent progression.

Many instances are now to be met with, of natives who formerly took a part in publicly opposing Christianity, who have suspended their opposition, and who profess, in some measure, to admit the weight of the arguments by which it is supported, as well as the general excellence of the religion itself, though they shrink from the actual assumption of the Christian name. Some of these are even ready to confess publicly, that they cannot find any reason-

able objections to Christianity, that have not been fully answered, and though they have not seen the necessity of actually abandoning the religion of their ancestors, and all the worldly privileges of caste, they frankly acknowledge, that while they see much to admire in the doctrines of the gospel, they have nothing to say in the defence of existing Hinduism. The Rev. W. Smith, senior missionary of the church society, in one of his journals, mentions a case illustrative of this remark. Mr. Smith was one day engaged in a discussion with some of the heathen in Benares, when a native came forward, rather unexpectedly, to his aid, and thus addressed his fellow countrymen who were arguing against Christianity. "Brethren, listen to one word; I once thought as you think about Christianity; and I used to talk against it as you do; but I read the New Testament. I read it through, and I have never had a word to say against Christianity since. Do you the same, and you will be of the same mind." I have very often heard declarations to the same effect, made even by Brahmans, whom I remember to have seen years before, acting as keen and ready witted assailants of the truth. Many others have continued their opposition, but have entirely shifted their ground, abandoning the defence of Hinduism as it is, to take shelter behind downright atheism. By doing so, however, they lose, to a considerable degree, the support and confidence of the common people, who, like Micah, are disposed to exclaim, "ye have taken away our gods, and what have we more?" A religion of a more substantive nature—having some definite object, or objects, of worship, they must have, and though, for a time, the more intellectual men, may fall back on the various forms of pantheism, or even of atheism, they are certain by so doing, only to leave the more plain, and matter of fact people, to the direct influence of Christian teaching. The controversies of our missionaries, therefore, with the Brahmans, and philosophical speculators, though by no means, in themselves, either easy or agreeable, are, if well and ably conducted, very far from useless, though often apparently so. If they answer no other purpose, they are, in some measure,

calculated to drive the wolves from the defenceless flock, and may help to bring it under the care and protection of real shepherds, who will watch for its good. When the confidence of the common people, generally, in the persons and doctrines of the Brahmans, and especially of the various sects of religious devotees, often more influential than the Brahmans themselves, shall have been greatly lessened, or destroyed, they will naturally listen, with more attention and docility, to a new and better class of teachers. The doctrines of the gospel will meet with a more candid consideration, and the results will be most important.

Every argument, therefore, brought forward in defence of the popular superstition, or of any of its multiform modifications, ought to be carefully, distinctly, and publicly met, not merely in a way calculated to convince the learned, but in a manner, and in language so plain, as to be easily comprehended by the common people, in order that they may see that, even their most learned men are not able to defend the doctrines which they profess to hold, or to refute those propounded by the missionaries. Though it may take much labour, and a considerable length of time to effect it, the confidence of the masses will certainly, at last, be transferred from the Brahmans to the Christian teachers. This transfer is already taking place, to a certain extent; and if wise and persevering efforts continue to be increasingly made, the point will certainly, in due time, be reached, when a great and universal revolution will take place in the religious sentiments of the people. May it come not merely as a change of sentiments, but be accompanied by a great spiritual change of heart and character; and not be merely a passing from one set of unfelt sentiments to another, but be actually a passing "from death to life, and from the power of Satan unto God!"

The Baptist mission, though the smallest in Benares, was the first in point of time, having been commenced in the year 1817, as an out-post of the Serampur mission. The Baptist society, however, never had any European missionaries at Benares, till about three years ago. Previously to that, their only agent here was Mr. Smith, an East Indian, and a man of excellent Christian character.

He has been a good witness, in this idolatrous city, to the truth and purifying influence of the gospel, though not possessed either of the talents, or education, requisite in a public teacher of Christianity. Living, however, in the midst of a great idolatrous city—surrounded with thousands of the heathen, and practising every Christian virtue with a meek and quiet spirit—his personal influence and usefulness have been very considerable, and the natives have always been ready to acknowledge in him a correct exemplification of that consistency of moral and religious character, required by the principles and laws of the gospel. Though the number of converts, under his ministry, has been but small, he has not been without fruit from his labours; while his general conversation, and daily efforts to do good among the heathen of the city, have been of great use in opening the way to others better qualified, by education and abilities of various kinds, for bringing divine truth more fully and forcibly before the minds of the people.

The Baptist mission has now been strengthened by the Rev. Mr. Small, and one of the German brethren, formerly connected with Mr. Start's mission, having joined it. They have one or two chapels in the city, and several schools. They also conduct an English service in Secrole, for the benefit of European soldiers, in which they are assisted by the missionaries of the London society, who have not considered it desirable to have any place for English worship in connexion with their own mission, as their labours in the native languages, have always been regarded by them as more important. In connexion with the Benares Baptist mission, there is a small church among the European invalid soldiers located at Chunar, a town and fort on the Ganges, about sixteen miles distant. They have, however, no regular preacher there, either for the English or the natives; and the station is but occasionally, and very imperfectly supplied. At Chunar, an efficient Baptist missionary, qualified to preach both in English and Hindustani, is much required, in order to secure permanent results from the labours already expended on the station, by the agents of the Serampur society, and to carry on more extensive operations in future. The

principle adopted by the early Baptist missionaries, of placing their agents raised up by them in the country—often very imperfectly instructed men—at stations widely apart from each other, it is to be hoped will not be continued by their successors, nor imitated by others. But as many of the missions which they commenced were really in important places, though their operations were too feebly conducted to be truly effective, we would not be understood to recommend their abandonment, but rather that a great effort should be made to put them, as to European agency, on a more extended and effective scale. Small missions, may, indeed, be carried on with some degree of success, if situated within an easy distance of larger ones, from which they may obtain occasional aid in cases of emergency, arising especially from the illness, or death of missionaries; but such missions are of little value, when they are in large and independent districts, beyond the reach of being either supported or controlled by more powerful and efficient bodies of labourers.

The date of the commencement of the church of England's operations in Benares, is not so easily fixed; as before any regular mission was formed, by any public society, in the city, some gentlemen, who were members of that church, endeavoured to do something to promote the spiritual good of the people, especially of the nominal Christians at the European station of Secrole; and out of these private efforts, the more systematic operations of the church missionary society originated. The excellent and devoted Corrie, afterwards Bishop of Madras, and whose labours for the good of India, ought to be had in everlasting remembrance, laid the foundation of the church mission at Benares, while acting there as government chaplain, at a time when the missionary cause was not so popular in India, as it became, before he was called to rest from his labours. He was one of the brightest ornaments of the Christian church in India; and from early life, long before he could have had any idea of being raised to a bishopric, he displayed in all circumstances, that zeal and diligence in promoting the salvation of the heathen, which continued unabated to the close of his career. His whole life was spent in the service of India, and God blessed his

labours, and the fruits of them are still being reaped. During the time that he was chaplain at Benares, he not only engaged diligently in preaching the gospel, and dispensing the ordinances of religion, among the Europeans of that and neighbouring stations, but also in erecting places of worship, for the English residents, and in attempts to evangelize the heathen.

In conjunction with some gentlemen, favourable to the promotion of Christianity among the natives, and who were at that time in office at Benares, he succeeded in obtaining from a wealthy native of Bengal, resident in the city, the means of liberally endowing a Free School, in which Christian instruction might be given in the English and Persian, as well as in the various native languages; to be open to all classes of the community. This institution was placed under the management of the church missionary society's agents, and of a local committee, generally consisting of several of the official gentlemen at the station. A large building was given for its accommodotion, by the founder, in that part of the city, which, in consequence of being inhabited chiefly by natives of Bengal, is called the Bangáli Tola. The pupils of the school have, therefore, been many of them Bengalees, several thousands of whom live in Benares, as they have a very great reverence for it, as a sacred place. Several houses in Secrole, of considerable value, were granted by its founder to the institution, for the founding of scholarships and the support of the teachers. An European head master, and also a principal, who is always an ordained missionary of the church society, have their salaries also paid out of the funds, arising from the endowment. This school has always been well conducted, and has been of great use. For a number of years, the church missionary society was able to do very little more at Benares, than conduct this institution, the pupils of which, in all the departments of English, Persian, Hindui, &c., generally used to average about two hundred. There was also, from the earliest period of this mission, a little Hindustani chapel at Secrole, used by the church missionaries for the benefit of a small congregation, composed, for the most part, of camp-followers, who professed themselves Chris-

tians, but being ignorant of English, could not be benefited by the services conducted by the chaplain, at the church of Secrole. Subsequently, however, to the year 1832, the church missionary society, taking into consideration the very great relative importance of Benares, began to increase the number of its agents. In fact, their operations, as far as really vigorous attempts to evangelize the city, by preaching and other direct means are concerned, may be said to have commenced from the arrival of the Rev. W. Smith, the present senior missionary, in the early part of 1832, at which time, my own personal acquaintance with the Benares missions began. Since that time, the church mission has been joined by a considerable number of other labourers, mostly Germans. Several of these have died, and some have been obliged to return to Europe, in consequence of ill health, so that the mission has suffered severely. It has at present, however, still five European agents, and about the same number of native teachers. The Free School above mentioned, has assumed the form of a college, and been removed to a large and commodious edifice, erected for it, from the funds of the endowment. It is in an encouraging and prosperous state, under the general superintendance of the Rev. Mr. Sandberg—a convert from the Jewish religion, and a man highly qualified for his office. He is assisted by the Rev. Mr. Mackay, formerly a school master in connexion with the society, but now ordained as a clergyman of the church of England.

Besides the Benares free school, the church missionary society has two large orphan schools, conducted by the missionaries and their wives, the one for boys and the other for girls. In these schools, there are nearly two hundred native orphans, who a few years ago, were rescued from starvation during a great famine, which prevailed in the north-western provinces. They are now being trained in the Christian faith, and are at the same time, taught useful businesses of various kinds, to enable them to provide for themselves in future life. A considerable number of them work at the manufacture of carpets and other articles, and in this way partly support the institution, while the orphan girls are employed in needle-work, and other pursuits, most suitable to their age and

sex. A sort of native Christian village has thus been formed, in connexion with the mission, and as so many young people are growing up under the auspices of the missionaries, it is likely, gradually to assume the appearance of a Christian suburb of the city, exercising a great influence over its evangelization. At the principal station at Sigra, a new church for the use of the native Christians, has recently been built, which is, perhaps, the largest yet erected for worship in the Hindustani language in northern India, and there is reason to hope, that it will soon have a congregation, sufficient to fill it.

In addition to this central church, the Episcopalian missionaries have several small chapels, in different parts of the city, in which they preach to the heathen. In these latter places, they do not conduct any service in which the Church of England liturgy is generally used, but proceed, for the greater part, much in the same way as the communities of missionaries connected with other churches. In those places, however, where their native Christians regularly meet, a translation of the English prayer book is used, in which the service is somewhat curtailed. The Church of England has, perhaps, no mission, which, as a whole, is more creditable to her, than that at Benares. The missionaries are, as a body, sound evangelical Christians, consistent in character, as pious and laborious men, and judicious in their modes of operation. Besides carrying on their various pastoral and educational plans, they preach daily, both in their chapels, and in the bazárs, and other public places in the city, and during the cold season they frequently itinerate through the towns and villages of the surrounding country. I am not able to say what number of native Christians there may now be in connexion with their mission, but I believe it is not very great; though there is now a considerable number of young people professing Christianity, who have been, or are being, brought up under the charge of the missionaries.

The mission of the London missionary society, was begun in the year 1821, by the Rev. M. T. Adams, but like that of the other societies here, it was, for a number of years, but feebly conducted,

having but one labourer at the station. Mr. A. did not preach to the natives, being engaged, for the most part, in work of a preliminary nature. He opened schools, however, principally for teaching the reading of the word of God, in different parts of the city, and conducted an English service at Secrole, chiefly for the benefit of the European soldiers. He employed himself, likewise, in the preparation of tracts, and school books, &c., in the Hindui language. In 1827, he was joined by the Rev. J. Robertson, who was the first European missionary, who preached the gospel to any extent, among the natives of Benares. He was a man of great talents, and extensive erudition, but of a somewhat eccentric character, which, in some measure, prevented his usefulness; while the general state of his health did not admit of such regular work as was desirable, especially, as he was soon left alone in the mission, in consequence of Mr. Adams having been obliged to return to Europe for his health, from which he did not come back to India.

When I reached Benares, at the end of 1831, Mr. R. was alone. One chapel had been erected in the city, in which a good many attended, and several small bazár, or common day schools, were in operation. Some persons had been baptized by Mr. Robertson, but as they were natives of other places, they had been transferred to other missions, so that no sort of native church as yet existed, and there were no Christians in connexion with the mission. In the following year, Mr. R. was suddenly removed by death. At noon, he was engaged in translating the scriptures, but at midnight he died of cholera, which was then raging in the city, and carrying off thousands.

In the following year, I was joined in the mission, by the Rev. M. C. Mather—now of Mirzapur—and the Rev. J. A Shurman, still labouring at Benares. The mission now consists of Messrs. Shurman, Kennedy, and Watt, ordained missionaries, and Mr. Ullman, an assistant missionary. There are, in connexion with the mission, four small chapels, in which the gospel is regularly preached, both to the heathen, and to the native Christians, for which purpose the schools established in different parts of the city, are also used. The

native assistants are employed in visiting the schools, speaking with the people, and distributing books and tracts, aiding the missionaries generally, and in reading and preaching at the different stations both in, and out, of the city. The missionaries do not live all in one place. There is one large compound which is the property of the society, in which there is a mission house, built by the first missionary, Mr. Adams. It is a rather large, but ill planned, and ugly building, erected in open defiance of every known rule of architecture, and being originally inconvenient, its deformity has been increased by alterations, made by almost every one who has occupied it, in rotation. It is usually inhabited by one of the missionaries, while the others live at another house, belonging to the society, on the bank of the Barna, at a short distance from it; or rent houses sufficiently near, and affording convenient access to the city, in which the various schools, and preaching stations are situated. Most of the native Christian families live within the mission compound.

In the same compound, with the principal mission house, a handsome new chapel has recently been built, which may perhaps be regarded as one of the best belonging to the London missionary society, in India. It has been erected chiefly by local contributions, and is designed for the use of the native Christian church. On the same premises there are various other buildings, comprising orphan schools, both male and female, and a number of small houses, occupied by native Christians, connected with the mission. One of the missionaries takes the pastoral superintendence of the Christians, and the general oversight of the orphan institutions, while the rest labour more among the heathen in the city, as well as in teaching, and superintending, the various schools. They employ their mornings, for the most part, in visiting the day schools, and the evenings in preaching to the heathen, in the small chapels in the bazárs. The amount of itinerating labour undertaken by the missionaries of the London society at Benares, has not been great. In this respect they have not done so much as the agents of the Church missionary society. The Rev. W. Smith especially, of the latter

mission, has travelled extensively, preaching the gospel and distributing the word of God over many districts, while the labours of the London society have been confined mostly to the city. This has arisen from various causes, besides the general fact, that they considered the city itself, as of the greatest importance; but chiefly from some of the missionaries being so much engaged in translating the scriptures, and in other work of the same kind, that they could not easily leave home for a length of time, without greatly deranging their general plans, and the mission has not often been so strong, as to admit, without detriment, of the frequent, or protracted absence of more than one of its missionaries at a time, and such absence has often been rendered necessary by ill health, so that extensive itineracies could not be undertaken, nor are they likely to be so, unless the mission is strengthened considerably, both in European, and native agency. Itinerating labours are, however, on many accounts highly desirable, though by themselves very inadequate, in India, to the production of great and permanent results. They are chiefly of use to the missionaries themselves, as calculated to preserve their health, and likewise, are calculated to produce a general impression in the country in favour of Christianity, and to excite a spirit of enquiry respecting its doctrines. An efficient native agency, however, is beyond all doubt, the best for itinerating, and a great deal cannot be done, with any considerable effect, in this department, till our native agents are greatly increased in number, and improved in character. Neither the habits nor health of European missionaries, are adapted to anything like really laborious and patient itinerating journeys; nor are they ever likely to be so numerous, that they can be afforded for such a work, though they may with much profit engage in it partially, and thereby, both improve their own health and spread much general information, over the districts through which they travel, and where they are generally heard with more respect, than in the cities, where they more statedly labour. By taking with them some of their native assistants, they are able, in many places, to produce a considerable impression; and by visiting, repeatedly, some of the towns and

villages, not a little may be done, to prepare the way for the ultimate and general reception of the gospel.

We have thus seen the extent of missionary agency employed by the various societies in Benares, but must reserve to another chapter some more extended remarks on this celebrated city; which from its antiquity and its singular connexion, from an early period, with Hindoo idolatry, and with the various doctrinal systems and superstitious customs of India, is deserving of peculiar attention, especially, as its hoped for transition from Hinduism to Christianity, at no distant period, may yet exercise a most important influence on the future religious character of India. The time, we trust, is near, when Benares will be so changed, that comparatively little of the present description, attempted to be given of it, will be correct, as with the advance of the gospel, and the institutions which it brings, its whole aspect, as it respects its people, will be altered.

CHAPTER XV.

PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE CITY OF BENARES.—BRAHMANI BULLS.—BRAHMANS AND OTHER RESIDENT NATIVE TRIBES.—REMARKS ON THE EARLY EXTENSION OF HINDUISM.—NATURE OF BRAHMANICAL LEARNING.—RESTRICTED USE OF ANIMAL FOOD.—RELIGIOUS SACRIFICES, &c.

In many respects Benares differs greatly from most other cities in India. Its lofty houses, and extremely narrow streets, with its multitudes of little temples and petty shrines, and images of the various gods, stuck in all sorts of positions, and exhibiting all diversities of shape and size, together with the great crowds of religious devotees, male and female—as well as the unusual numbers of Brahmans, and Brahmani bulls, give to it an aspect quite peculiar. Most of the streets are so narrow, as scarcely to admit of any sort of conveyance, save palanquins; and the bearers of these have no small difficulty in many places; for, notwithstanding their shouting, and shoving with all their might, through the crowds of pedestrians, they can scarcely, by any possibility, go forward, while every now and then, they are stopped entirely, by wheeled carriages, making vain all attempts to pass through the small thoroughfares, or by elephants, camels, or Brahmani bulls, and sometimes by whole droves of oxen or buffaloes with loads on their backs, intermingled with troops of mules and donkeys, and men and women, with burdens of every conceivable kind, and jostling each other in the greatest confusion. The Brahmani bulls sometimes maintain their pre-eminence with their horns, and insist on the entire occupation of a passage, too narrow to admit of people going along, when one of these privileged servants of Mahadeo has planted himself across it.

These sacred bulls are not, as is often supposed in England, of any particular breed; though most of them belong to the common Indian species, having a hump on the shoulders. Their only peculi-

arity is, that they are turned loose, as animals consecrated to Mahadeo, and as he is the chief god worshipped at Benares, the number of them here, is peculiarly great, especially in the neighbourhood of the ghâts and temples. Mahadeo is represented as riding on a bull, called Nandi, himself a deity, whose image, generally of stone, as a "Bull couchant," is placed before the emblem under which that great god is most commonly worshipped. The Brahmani bulls, are branded with the trident of Mahadeo, and turned loose in honour of that deity, when they are calves, by persons who have made vows, in order to obtain some benefit, generally of a temporal kind. The mark made on them when they are consecrated to Mahadeo, easily distinguishes them from all other cattle, and by every orthodox Hindoo, it would be regarded as an act of the greatest sacrilege to force them to work, or to destroy them, however troublesome they may become. In the crowded streets of Benares, however, they are constantly receiving blows and knocks, to make them get out of the way, all of which they seem to bear with great patience and equanimity, though many instances occur of their turning with great spirit on those who annoy them. On one occasion a Brahmani bull having attempted to eat some cakes out of a poor woman's basket, who was selling sweetmeats on the side of the street, when repulsed by her, turned on her, and at once tossed her up on his horns, one of which passed through her stomach and killed her on the spot. Another case, but not so fatal, occurred one day to an English gentleman, who was passing through the city in a gig. Some provocation having probably been given to one of these privileged bulls, the animal had become excited, and made a rush at the gig, and dashing his horns under it, pitched it over, so that the gentleman fell on his head, and had his skull fractured. Sometimes two or more of them have a fight in the narrow streets, when all passengers are, for the time, obliged to stop, till victory decides in favour of one or the other of the doughty belligerants. One day while I was passing along one of the streets in a palanquin, I came to a crowd of people, who were stopped by two large bulls engaged in a desperate contest. They seemed very equally

matched, each having met a foe worthy of his horns; and the battle might have lasted for a long time, had not some policemen with large sticks begun most unmercifully to belabour one of them on the back. Feeling, from the smart of the blows, that he had got assailants in flank and rear, as well as in front, he at last gave way; when his enemy obtaining the advantage, planted his horns in his ribs, and dashing along through the crowd, and nearly upsetting me, drove him with a crash in through the front of a shop, the small pillars supporting the verandah of which, were overthrown, and every thing in his way upset or broken to pieces.

These animals are so accustomed from early calf-hood, to forage entirely for themselves, not in peaceful fields, or solitary wildernesses, where their only companions are cows or bulls like themselves, but in the crowded streets of a large city, where they associate chiefly with animals of a higher order, whom they learn to imitate in some things, supposed, generally, to be above their reach. They are to be observed walking up and down stairs—a thing which an English bull would not attempt—and that not merely on the broad stone steps of the public ghâts on the river side, where many of them are often to be seen, but they even go up the little narrow stone staircases inside the houses, by no means easy of ascent, even for a human being, unless accustomed to them. I have often seen them, several stories high, in the upper rooms, not only of old waste buildings, but of occupied houses, and even looking down from the flat roofs of the highest houses, into the bustling streets below, quietly chewing their cudd, and apparently as much at home, as if they were the undoubted owners of the mansion. Those who attempt to dislodge them from comfortable quarters, often find it no easy task, as they are seldom unprepared for fighting in defence of any thing, or place, for which they have a liking.

Though the Hindoos do not scruple to beat these sacred bulls, often with great severity, yet to kill one of them would very likely excite a popular tumult, so as even to endanger the life of the aggressor. Several rather serious quarrels have arisen between the Hindoos and Mussulmans, owing to the latter having been suspected

of the heinous sin of killing some of them, and eating their flesh. The reverence in which they are held by many of the people is very great, and is manifested on all occasions, when any serious attempt is made to harm them. One day, a friend of mine, feeling very much annoyed by a Brahmani bull, who haunted the neighbourhood, and sometimes made depredations in his garden, took down his loaded gun, and was going out with the deadly intent of shooting him, but was stopped by one of his servants, a most orthodox Hindoo, who, running in between him and the bull, exclaimed, "Shoot me sir, but let him go!" To be ready to lay down one's life for a friend, is, in all nations, regarded as the highest act of self-sacrificing generosity; but to be prepared to do so for a brute animal, is peculiar to the Hindoos. The thing, however, is not very difficult to account for, when it is kept in mind, that the Brahmani bull is not viewed by the Hindoo as a mere animal, but as a being, if not absolutely divine, yet closely allied to divinity, and, in part at least, entitled to its honours. To kill one of them, is, therefore, by no means unnaturally, regarded as an act of the greatest sacrilege, calculated to bring down some awful calamity, not merely on the sinful wretch who perpetrates such an act of impiety, but on all his kindred, and sometimes on the whole country in which the deed is committed. To kill a sacred bull, especially, is not only an act of great cruelty, but one of the most daring impiety.

Europeans have given the name of Brahmani bulls to those sacred animals, but I do not know for what reason, as they have no such name among the natives. Their name, both in Sanscrit, and in the vernacular languages, is Sár, a word considered by the learned, on good grounds, to be the same as Taurus of the Greek—the interchange of T for S being quite common—the termination varying, while the radical word is the same. The name Sár, is used only to designate sacred bulls; ordinary animals, the mere laymen of the same species, being called Bail—a word most obviously of the same derivation, as—or, rather, merely a slightly different pronunciation of, the common English word, bull.

Though abounding everywhere about Benares, they are to be

seen in the greatest numbers about the principal temples. They are allowed to have as their perquisite, the various offerings of rice, flowers, and sweetmeats, presented by the people, the Brahmans contenting themselves, with the cowries, pice, and rupees, of the poor and middle classes; and the occasional gold mohurs of the richer worshippers. Those persons who have completed their devotions, in the temples, have often a garland of flowers, chiefly marigolds, thrown round their necks by the officiating Brahmans. These necklaces are often snatched from their necks, by the Brahmani bulls, who watch for them, as they go out of the temple. It is curious to see how active they are, and how skilfully they plant themselves, so as to pounce on the garlands, or as they are called mâlas, worn by the people, as they come out from their devotions. I frequently observed a Brahmani bull, whose mutilated horns told of many a fight, or at least blow on his head, who used to stand, and may be standing still, at the entrance of one of the principal temples. He had the sagacity to plant himself in a very convenient corner, where before he could well be seen, he could easily snatch the garlands of flowers from the neck of any person coming out of the temple. My attention was first attracted to him on one occasion, when coming out of that temple in the middle of a great crowd, I was startled, by the cold nose of a bull, being poked into my face, while with his long slavery tongue he was feeling whether or not there was anything about my neck, which he could eat. As the garlands of flowers, put on after worshipping in these temples, are strung on a very slender thread, when the bull catches hold of it in his mouth, he never lets it go, till the thread gives way, when he gets the whole, or most, of the flowers into his possession, and then greedily swallows them, thread and all.

During those seasons of the year, when the grain crops are on the ground, a great many of these bulls wander out of the city to regale themselves in the green fields, of grain and vegetables, in the surrounding country, often occasioning great loss to the cultivators, as well as great trouble in watching both night and day, to prevent their depredations. I have seen them even defy the owners of the

fields, or gardens, to eject them, till they were fully satisfied. A poor man, living in our neighbourhood, was on one occasion, very much troubled with a Brahmani bull, who seemed to have made up his mind to come regularly every night and day, to graze in a nice field of green wheat or barley, which he had. One day the man came to us to complain against the bull, and to see if we could do anything to relieve him from his daily intrusions. My friend made his servants arrest him, and remove him from the neighbourhood. A man was sent with him to the Ganges, which was about two miles distant, where having put him on board a boat, he transported him to the other side. In the evening, however, he appeared again at his old haunt,—our neighbour's corn field,—and we concluded that he had swam across the river; but we learned afterwards, that he had jumped into the ferry boat, and though the people had tried to drive him out, he fought for, and secured his passage over the Ganges, and returned directly to his own favourite field. Though free to roam wherever they choose, each of them has a particular spot, or neighbourhood, from which he very seldom departs.

Their usual way of crossing the Ganges, however, is by swimming, though, I am told, it is not uncommon for them to go in the ferry boats, in spite of the boatmen. They are probably attracted by the green fields which they can see, from the city, on the opposite side of the river, and they seem to learn the use of a boat, from seeing other cattle frequently taken across in boats, as involuntary passengers; but at all events, it is evident that they have sagacity enough to know, that, if they go into a boat, it will save them the trouble of swimming to their favourite food, and bring them back to their usual places of resort, when they have filled their bellies. It is not always very safe to fight them, and, therefore, they are generally allowed to have their own way. The point, as to where instinct and reason, are to be distinguished, has not yet been very satisfactorily explained, but the sagacity of these animals, is at least a curious instance of animal instinct, being greatly modified and improved, by the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. The circuitous routes often taken by them to gain an

object, not at the time in sight, would seem the result of considerable forethought, and evince a sagacity, much above the ordinary instincts of the species of animals to which they belong.

The great numbers of Brahmans in Benares, as compared with other places, and the swarms of religious devotees of all the different orders, to be found among the Hindoos, give quite a peculiar aspect to the whole place. As far as I am aware, the number of resident Brahmans is quite unknown. Like that of the population generally, it must be very fluctuating, and much greater at certain seasons of the year than at others, as many of the Brahmans who are connected with Benares and its temples, &c., have houses or lands in the villages, and are as often absent from the city, as present in it, some of them, in fact, being seldom in the town except during religious holidays. I have heard some intelligent natives calculate the Brahmanical families, at about one fifth of the resident population. As they are easily distinguished, both by their features, and the Brahmanical cord, which they all wear, it would seem to me not improbable, that every fifth man to be met with, on the streets of Benares, is a Brahman. But as both the other great divisions, or higher castes—the Khatrias and Baisyas, with all their subdivisions of Rájputs, &c., wear the janua, or sacred cord, in the same way as that of the Brahmans, which is passed over the right shoulder and under the left arm—many of them may, occasionally, at a little distance, be taken for Brahmans, though when quite near, a person well acquainted with India, may easily distinguish them by the difference of their features. The cord, or badge of high caste, is also different, though not so discernible at a distance—that worn by the Brahman being of cotton, that of the Khatria, or of the Rájput, of lint, while that of the Baisya, or mercantile caste, is made of wool. They all, however, wear this badge of high caste in the same way, and consider giving it up, as a degradation from hereditary rank.

Whatever may be the opinions formed about the origin of the Brahmans, they have evidently, from a very ancient period, been a race of men quite distinct from the other nations and tribes

inhabiting India, though not equally pure in all parts of the country. In Bengal, and in the most southerly districts of India the Brahmanical families are much less pure than those of Benares, and the north-western provinces, generally, where all their traditions and mythology, place their ancient seats; while most of the Brahmans of Bengal proper, and many of those south of the Kistna, are not of the true Brahmanical race, though some families of them most probably are so. In Bengal such families are held in very high repute, and are called Kullin, a name derived from the Sanscrit word Kull, a tribe, or race, indicating, that those to whom it is applied are descended, without intermixture, from the pure Brahmanical Kull, or stock, and are thus distinguished from the other Brahmans of Bengal, who are said to have been constituted Brahmans, by a native Rája of Bengal, while that province formed an independent kingdom. The pure Brahmanical families, introduced at a later period into Bengal, are in that province regarded as much more honourable than those whose ancestors had been merely created Brahmans, by the secular power, and who, therefore, like some sections of the protestant churches in Europe, have not the true Brahmanical, or apostolical descent. Those of the true descent, from the pure Brahmanical stock, are alone called Kullin in Bengal, but in Benares there is no such distinction, as they all claim purity of birth, and are, therefore, all Kullin. The distinction made between ordinary and Kullin Brahmans, however, existing in Bengal, has given rise, in that province to the very preposterous, and demoralizing custom, of fathers, of the Brahmanical tribe, paying these Kullin Brahmans to marry their daughters, in order to raise up children of a higher race, as it is a rule that the father's caste raises the rank of the son above that of the mother's family, if she is of a tribe sufficiently high, to admit of the children being regarded as legitimate. To obtain this elevation of Brahmanical rank for their descendants, the Brahmans of the common Bengalee stock, engage one of the pure, or the Kullin Brahmans, who can show a pedigree derived from the true north-western race, to marry a

daughter, even though he may not be able to support her, or even to live with her. He merely engages to visit her at certain times, so as to have children by her, the father-in-law supporting her, and her children, as his own, and even paying his son-in-law for raising up children by his daughter. The Kullin Brahman, in Bengal, therefore, has often many wives, whom he visits at times in this way, receiving his livelihood from their parents, or brothers, who thus keep him, as a hired animal, to improve the breed of their families. This abominable system prevails mostly in the vicinity of Calcutta, and frequently also in other parts of Bengal, and furnishes the means of support for a great many lazy and vagabond Brahmans, who happen to be able to show a purer pedigree, than the other Brahmanical families of the district.

At Benares, on the other hand, though there are higher and lower ranks among the Brahmans, some families being of more honourable descent than others, and, therefore, taking a degree of precedence, they are all regarded as of pure Brahmanical origin, and are, therefore, all Kullin, with the exception of such families as came originally from Bengal, or the south, who, being of a mixed race, cannot intermarry with the purer families of the indigenous castes. Those of the far south, also, are not received at Benares as proper Brahmans, unless by members of their own tribes, who may be resident there as sojourners. It is indeed pretty evident that they are not of the pure Brahmanical race, any more than those of Bengal. They are destitute, unless in a very imperfect degree of development, of the true Caucasian, or Semi-Grecian features of the pure stock of the Hamalaya Brahmans, the general connexion of whose language, and physical peculiarities, with those of the races constituting the main body of the European nations, is, comparatively, so easily traced. The southern Brahmans, in general, would seem to be a mixed race, having, like those of Bengal, a number of pure families interspersed. The physical differences between them, and the purer race of the north, are too great to have been produced by the effects of a climate and mode of life, not essentially different, during the few

centuries that have elapsed since Hinduism has been established, in the provinces south of the Kistna. They may have been mixed races, partly of Brahmanical origin, before they settled in the south, but it is more likely, that they in general became so afterwards, by intermarriages, or illicit connexions, especially during periods of war and confusion, when the strict rules of caste might be partially neglected, either before or after they became the predominant party in religious affairs, in those more distant parts of India, which was certainly long after they had obtained a complete ascendency in the north. Notwithstanding, that there are many ancient Brahmanical monuments in the south of India, the Hinduism of the great mass of the people, is undoubtedly of comparatively modern date, and has only gradually superseded Budhism, and the various ruder forms of religion, practised by the aboriginal nations, who, under the general name of Parriars, still form the mass of the southern population.

Even Christanity was introduced on the coast of Malabar before Hinduism was there fully established, and the present distinctions of caste settled by its Hindoo conquerors. In speaking of Rája Keram Peraumal, who, in the early part of the ninth century established an independent Hindoo kingdom on the coast of Malabar, and laid the foundation of the present institutions of caste in that part of India; Hough, in his history of Christanity in India, says, "During the reign of this prince, the division of the inhabitants of Malabar into castes, which continues to the present day, is said to have been made, and it is attributed to one of their divinities, Shenkar, a supposed son of Mahadeo, the principal of the Hindoo gods. The several castes with their distinctions, are thus described:—1 The Namboory Brahmans. 2 Naires, who are the military tribe; but for some time past many of them have followed more menial professions. 3 Teers, who are cultivators of the soil, carpenters, smiths, goldsmiths, fishermen, &c.; but these are all freemen. 4 Maleres, who are musicians and conjurers, and also free. 5 Paleres, or Poliars, who are bondmen, attached to the soil, in the lower part of Malabar." Here the two higher castes, as in other

parts of India, were established by the conqueror, and became the Priesthood and landholders, having been the instruments by which the country had been acquired.

There can be little doubt, but that the system of Hinduism was introduced at an early period, into the south of India, by Brahmans from the north, most likely in connexion with the conquests of the northern Hindoo Rájas, who, according to all tradition, would seem often to have overrun the south of India, subduing for a time, and rendering tributary, the native princes, who ruled over the different provinces, though their conquests were never consolidated into a permanent empire. These expeditions, however, would seem to have led, in the south, to the establishment of a number of Hindoo Rájas, of the northern, or Khatria tribes, who, being themselves rude conquerors, under the influence of their religious guides the Brahmans, employed members of that acute, and ambitious tribe, as their chief ministers and advisers, and supported them with all their influence, in spreading their religious sentiments and authority, among the subject tribes over whom they ruled. Supported, as foreign dynasties, on thrones established by force of arms, by the intelligence and religious influence of the Brahmans, who had accompanied them to the south, as active auxiliaries, or followed in the train of their conquering armies, they were under great obligations to support them in their views with respect to the propagation of their religion, and to induce their less civilized subjects to adopt their faith, and to receive them as the representatives of the gods. The immense Hindoo temples, still found to exist in southern India, are striking monuments of the princely patronage enjoyed by the Brahmans in ancient times. Those of the north are comparatively insignificent. To conclude, however, from the mere existence of those temples, that Hinduism must have been as strong, and as widely diffused in the south, when they were erected, as it is now, would be to go against all history and tradition. There is every reason to believe, that the builders of those temples, were conquerors from the north. The spoils of the kingdoms which they overturned, were profusely lavished on the Brahmans, who were their chief advisers, both in

peace and in war; and in the erection and liberal endowments of places where they might live at ease, and gradually bring under their influence, the various native tribes, now composing the lower castes of Hindoos, conquered by the victorious armies of Rám Chander, king of Oudhe, and other northern heroes, allied with Brahmans, and whose exploits form the subject of most of the mythological poems of Hindustan.

A process, not unlike this took place in England, and with effects not entirely dissimilar, on the Norman Conquest, though it was there prevented, by the peculiar genius of Christianity, from producing such permanent results, in the formation of distinct hereditary castes. The clergy assisted in subverting the liberty of the Saxons, and their subserviency to the conquerors of England, induced the princes of the Norman race, to endow bishoprics, and erect great cathedrals and monastries, &c. with the wealth of which they had plundered the conquered Saxons, who, like the lower castes or aborigines of southern India, were trodden down into a servile race by the conquerors. As the iron clad, but ignorant warriors of Normandy and Aquitaine, were artifully employed for the aggrandizement of the Anglo-Romish clergy, so the rude and warelike tribes of north-western India, were artfully directed and inspired by Brahmanical influence, so that when they had overran and subjugated the various countries of the south, the real power of the Brahmans was established, and every other religious system sunk into obliviion on the continent of India, though Budhism maintained its ground, in the Island of Ceylon, and the countries east of the Ganges.

The ruling families of the southern Hindoos are, even now, almost entirely of northern race and features, though, like the Brahmans of the same provinces, they are not of an entirely pure origin. Most of them still trace their lineage to the great ancient families, or tribes, either of central or northern India, and claim either a Brahmanical or a Khatria descent; while the great mass of the people of the south can claim no Hindoo origin at all, but are usually known by the name of Parriar, or, rather, Pahária mountaineers, a name derived from Pahár, a mountain. As the Celts of Europe,

from the inferiority of their governmental institutions, and physical development, as well as from their being too much characterized by strong emotion, ever to become a great ruling people, when brought into contact with the more perfectly organized, and more intellectual races of mankind, were driven before the more powerful and coolly energetic northern nations, into the more remote, barren, and mountainous regions of western Europe, from which they are rapidly disappearing as a distinct people—so the more ancient nations, or tribes of India, have been driven onwards by the more recent, till, in consequence of most of them having retired into the mountainous districts, they have received the general name of Pahária, or mountaineers, even though many of them are settled in the plains. Some of the tribes actually inhabiting the mountains are in a very low and barbarous state; but are not numerous. In many parts of southern India, the Pahária tribes, inhabiting the plains, form the majority of the people; but in the north they are rarely to be met with, except as actual mountaineers, or inhabitants of the hilly, or less cultivated districts, where, besides their more general name of Pahária, they are more commonly distinguished by the names of their respective tribes, as Koles, Kiráts, Bheels, Danghars, Khoonds, &c. In their general physical peculiarities, they differ much from the regular Hindoo tribes, or castes, and seem to approach a little nearer to the African races, though by no means like the negro. In the districts where they are mostly to be found, it is very evident that the lower castes of Hindoos, especially, are formed of intermixtures between these aboriginal tribes and the more recent northern, or Indo-European races.

The proportion of these aboriginal races, or Pahárias, whether professing the Hindoo religion, or otherwise, greatly increases towards the south, where the conquests of the northern, or pure Hindoo races, never seem to have been followed by more than very partial colonization; so that, in those provinces, only the higher classes —and especially the Brahmans—are Hindoos by ancient descent; while, in the north and west of India—their earliest seats—the pure Hindoo races form the main body of the people—the various

aboriginal tribes having, for the most part, been exterminated, or absorbed, among the lower Sudra castes of Hinduism. This accounts, in some degree, for the fact, that the common Sudra tribes who, in the north, form the great mass of the people of the lower orders, are, in the south, regarded as very respectable castes, in consequence of there being there a large body of aboriginal tribes, called Paháriás, not existing at all in the north, or, at least, existing only in such small numbers, as to be quite insufficient to form any important element in native society. They never formed any part of the four great divisions, or nations, of the proper Hindoos, by whom, in all probability, the original nations, or tribes, inhabiting India were gradually driven towards the south, or into the mountain ranges. In consequence of this latter circumstance, they received the general name of Pahária, or mountaineer, whether living always in the hills, or settling, as a comparatively servile race, in the plains, under the rule of their original conquerors. This name became, from the depression under which those laboured who bore it, a term of reproach; for, though they were not actually slaves, the aborigines of the south, especially, have always been regarded as an unclean and degraded race by the more regular Hindoos, and especially by the Brahmans. Even the Sudras, though in the north the lowest order, look down, in the south, with contempt on the Paháriás.

I am well aware that some writers on southern India have derived the name, which, by them, is pronounced Parriar, and not, as in the north, Paháriá, from the verb Parna to fall, meaning persons fallen from caste. To fall, is not, however, as far as I am aware, an idiom ever used, in any part of India, with respect to the loss of caste. The caste is said simply to "have gone," or "been spoiled," or the person to have "become corrupt," but not to have fallen. The fact would also require to be accounted for, that in the north of India, where the rules of caste are much stricter than in the south, there are no tribes called Parriars—in the sense of "*fallen from caste*"—the tribes there bearing the name of Paháriá, are acknowledged, and undoubted Highlanders, though, like the High-

landers of Scotland, and other countries, often led by the poverty of their hills, to come down as labourers, or adventurers, to seek subsistence in the plains. It is true, indeed, that from their being regarded as very low castes, outcastes may occasionally take refuge among them, as they do occasionally among the very low castes in the north, as such castes have fewer forms, and restrictions, limiting their social intercourse to persons of their own tribe, than the higher and more aristocratic castes of the purer Hindoos. They are very evidently a people, who never, as a body, formed any part of the real and original Hindoo tribes, nor have they the same physical characteristics, with the exception, that they, in some degree, resemble the very lowest of the Sudra tribes, who, in all probability, are, for the most part, derived from the same, or other aboriginal races, though partly mixed with the true Hindoo castes. Many individuals—originally belonging to some of the higher, and more regular castes, all of whom are very strict in maintaining the purity of descent in their tribes—may have on expulsion from caste, in consequence of violating some of its rules, or customs, obtained admission into some of the lowest Sudra castes, or, at least, among the Paháriás. Some of the low castes are, probably, very nearly related to the earlier, or aboriginal tribes of India, or are, perhaps, even purely aboriginal; or, at least, organized into Hindoo castes, at a period long subsequent to the establishment of the rules and distinctions of caste, among the higher tribes of purer descent. In this way, many of the aboriginal tribes, not classed among the pure castes in ancient times, have gradually adopted rules and customs similar to those of the higher tribes, and are now regarded as pure Hindoos of the lower Sudra castes, the subdivisions of which are innumerable, varying in every district, some of them being regarded as comparatively respectable, while others are looked down on, as exceedingly impure and ignoble.

The line between the pure, and original Hindoo castes, or tribes, and those of a still earlier, and more indigenous character in India, but now amalgamated with the main body of the people, professing the Hindoo religion, cannot now be accurately traced. It seems,

however, not improbable that most of the lower Sudra tribes, are, in whole, or in part, of the same original races, as those tribes called Paháriás, still inhabiting the hilly districts; but most of them having, at an early period, become Hindoos in religion, and been partially intermingled with tribes of a more civilized character, and superior physical and intellectual development, they have now a greater resemblance to the higher castes of the Baisyas and Khatrias, than is observable even among the Parriars of the south, or the aboriginal tribes of the north, who still inhabit the various ranges of mountains, and retain languages, manners, and superstitions, different from those of the pure Hindoos. The physical differences between the lower Sudra tribes, and the Brahmans especially, are too great and obvious, to leave any room to doubt that they are of races entirely distinct, whatever opinion may be formed as to the origin of the ascendency of the latter, as a sacred tribe. Many of the higher Sudra tribes are acknowledged on all hands to be bastard races, originating in the illegitimate intercourse of the Brahmans, Khatrias, and Baisyas, with either the Sudras, or the hill tribes, and so also are the wandering tribes called Kanjar, in northern India, but found in all parts of the civilized world, whether in Asia or Europe, in a state more or less mixed, and well known in England by the name of Gypsies. The Sudra tribes are consequently formed into a great many subdivisions, claiming precedence, or superiority of rank, according to their supposed nearness in relationship, to the Brahmans or other high castes, being as particular as the Americans of Mexico, or the United States, about the purity of race; though, like them, composed of the heterogeneous debris of different migrations, yet for the most part of cognate nations, partially intermingled with an aboriginal stock. But though the aborigines, and lower castes of India, have, since the earliest ages, been of a degraded race, being many of them in much the same position, as that of the free negroes in the United States; they never were slaves, but had always, as now, civil rights and property, clearly defined by law, though both their persons and property, were

always held in great subordination, and their privileges were always very inferior to those of the higher castes. Slavery in the form which it has taken among the nations of professedly Christian America, never disgraced the annals of heathen India, though in several other forms it has always more or less existed, till abolished by the British government, at least in its own dominions, and through its influence, in most of the native states.

The Brahmans of Benares, whatever may be their actual numbers, have a very great influence over the Hindoos, generally, even to the remotest parts of India. Young Brahmans come very often from a great distance, if not to receive instructions, at least to have the name of having studied the Shasters at Benares. The reputation of the principal Pandits is considerable, and difficult questions of Hindoo law are refered to them, by the judges, both native and European, but more especially are they appealed to, by the Brahmans and others, in the various provinces of India, on points of difficulty, connected with the rules of caste, and religious ceremonial. Such matters are often refered to their decision, as whether they are really learned or not, they have the reputation of being so, which, in such cases, answers the same purpose quite as well. The college kept up by the government in Benares, chiefly for the study of Sanscrit, has not, generally, been considered of much use, even for that purpose, as many of the Brahmans maintain, that the students educated there, are not equal to those brought up in their own way, by private tuition. It serves, however, as a comfortable nest for a few old Brahman Pandits, who have obtained a sort of vested right to doze for several hours a day over the Hindoo Shasters at the government expense. They teach little, and that little is of less value, with the exception of the reading in Scanscrit, of some works on Hindoo law. The funds of the Sancrit college are now, however, being gradually transferred, to a better institution, called "the Benares' college," in which there are about 200 students, who receive a liberal education, chiefly, though not exclusively, in English. As in other government institutions, the instruction is confined to secular learning and science, subversive enough of the Hinduism and Muhammadanism

of the city, but not calculated to provide a substitute for either.

The ordinary plan with the Brahmans, is to receive some pupils in their own houses, who live with them as their own sons, and are quite subject to their authority, by night and by day, during the period alloted for their education. This plan is followed not only with those who come from a distance, but frequently also, though not always, with young Brahmans belonging to the city. The learning communicated by the Pandits, is almost purely professional, consisting of Sanscrit, Grammar, Poetry, Dialictics, Mythology, and Astronomy, including Astrology. They also give instructions about the modes of performing all sorts of religious ceremonies, according to the rules of the Shasters, and various other things connected with Hindoo laws and the rules of caste, the conduct of life, public, private, and domestic duties, and the various forms and rites to be observed in the performance of all the different kinds of worship, according to the various, and very minutely complicated rituals found in the sacred Books. All these must be carefully learned in Sanscrit, as it would be very unholy to use the ordinary language, to express what is holy and divine.

It takes even the most diligent young Brahman, therefore, a long time to commit to memory so much as is required by this mode of teaching, and it is often found that a great deal of what is thus got by memory, is merely learned by rote, but not understood. Still there are many of them that know the Sanscrit language well, and in this respect the Brahmans of Benares are no doubt superior to their brethren in most other parts of India, who seldom know it, except to be able to read and pronounce it, or recite a few passages of the Shasters, or a few of the more common prayers by rote; without being able to translate them into the spoken language. So much time is, however, taken in learning the subtleties of a grammar unrivalled for its refinements, and a prosody the most complicated and minute in its rules, that little can be spared for the acquisition of real, or useful information, and hence with the exception of some logical acuteness, and a confused mass of

mythological tales, and metaphysical quibbles, many of the most accomplished Brahmans have little else but verbal learning. They are, at the same time, learned and very ignorant men. The long, dull, monotonous, and monkish course of learning, through which they have to plod their way, often lasting for many years, instead of expanding, cramps their intellectual powers, and fits them only for making ingenious hair-splitting distinctions, between things scarcely differing, or for mystifying the most obvious truths, by metaphysical jargon. In this art they are often considerable adepts, but any clear or comprehensive reasoning, on any thing like sound, or rational principles, is rarely to be met with among them. In readiness of illustration, however, and in an easy command of language, and in general acuteness, as far as their systems of philosophy will carry them; as well as in promptness of reply, and dexterity in shifting their ground when hardly pressed, they are often very far from being contemptible disputants. As they can fall back with great facility, from one position to another, till the very existence of either matter or spirit is either questioned, or denied, and even the evidence of the senses not admitted as any proof of the existence of an external universe, it is not always an easy task to follow them through all the windings of their subtile reasonings, false analogies, and far fetched quibbles. Many of them bear a strong family likeness to Goldsmith's Village Schoolmaster,—"For even though vanquished, they can argue still."

In Benares, as in other places, though the Brahmans, are in general regarded as of one caste, they are divided into a good many separate tribes, some of which are of more honourable extraction than others. Many of the Brahmans are mere secular men, either living on their private property, not a few of them being rich, or following such pursuits as are not thought to be degrading to their caste, such as keeping ordinary shops, or practising mechanical arts, all of which are forbidden to a Brahman. Some of them, however, are connected with banking, and live by the interest of money, a mode of life not quite agreeable to some of the Shasters; while many others are physicians, or lawyers, officers of government,

assistants in the public departments, &c., down even to the common duties of the ordinary police; while not a few have served in the army, and live in Benares on their pensions. There are many of them also in the city, who have private property, either here or in the country, on the income derived from which, they live at ease, spending most of their time in lounging about the numerous ghâts, temples, and other public places, like the Athenians of old, "either to tell or to hear of some new thing;" as well as in the endless routine of bathing in the Ganges, muttering prayers, worshipping at the different shrines of Mahadeo, or teaching parrots and minas to repeat the different names of the gods, in order to vary the dull and tiresome monotony, of repeating them by themselves. They are always to be seen in groups, gossiping, smoking, eating, or professedly engaged in some sort of religious service, or unmeaning ceremony or other, or merely ogling the crowds of people; but never working at any ordinary employment. Some of these idle Brahmans are so enormously fat, as scarcely to be able to drag themselves along. Hence they are sometimes nicknamed "Shikm-parast," or "Belly-worshippers," it being very evident, that whatever other deities they may serve, they do not neglect to present the sacred Ghi, or clarified butter, so much used in all Hindoo rites, to themselves, whatever they may give to the gods.

Though flesh is not very much used by the Brahmans, and some abstain from it altogether, it is not, as has often been supposed, entirely forbidden to them. In Bengal, especially, the Brahmans usually profess to abstain from it altogether. Many of them, however, make no scruple to supply its place with fish, which, in that province, are very abundant. This is an equal violation of the principle on which the injunction to abstain from it rests, as if they were to use any other description of animal food; as it is not forbidden on the ground of any supposed uncleanness, for animals, such as the cow, regarded as most pure, are most particularly prohibited. The reason always assigned for not using animal food, is not so much its uncleanness, though in some cases this is also referred to, as the sin of giving pain to living creatures, the souls,

or sentient natures, of which, are equally with the human soul, portions of the divine, all-pervading essence.

It has been supposed, by many respectable writers, that flesh was not eaten, or at least was not lawfully eaten, before the flood, unless when it had been previously offered in sacrifice. There is certainly, in scripture, no recorded grant of animals for the ordinary purposes of food, anterior to that made to Noah and his sons, though we are distinctly informed that they were used in sacrifice, no doubt according to a ritual of divine institution, the open violation of which by Cain, led to the rejection of his offering, and his consequent crime, and expulsion from the primeval family. That the tradition of animals not having been originally used as ordinary food, may have been derived from an earlier period, than that of the Mosaic institutions, is by no means incredible, when we remember, that it is highly probable that the Brahmans, as a people, must, in the earliest ages, have occupied seats, by no means distant, from those elevated regions of central Asia, first peopled by mankind after the flood; and where the great body of patriarchal traditions continued for longest to be preserved with the greatest purity, though gradually worked up into the most extravagant forms of mythology; but, still, whether Greek, Indian, or Scandinavian, bearing evident traces of a common origin in the most remote antiquity. The Semetic races, through Abraham, received a new revelation from God, introductory and preparatory to a more full manifestation of the divine will, to be given in the Christian dispensation to all nations; while the more widely spread descendants of Japhet, forming the great chain of nations,—stretching both to the east and west of the Caucasus, from the shores of the Baltic to the Ganges, preserved many fragments of elementary truths and some of the laws and institutions, and even moral principles, though often greatly perverted or obscured, which in a purer and simpler form, were portions of that divine patriarchal law, the general departure from which is in scripture represented as the great sin of the Gentile nations, by which God was provoked to leave them to follow the dictates of their own evil hearts, till they sunk into the

deepest debasement of polytheism, and all the pernicious delusions of idolatry.

Though the use of flesh is not entirely prohibited to the Brahmans, it is always considered by them as much more holy to be sustained by vegetable, than by animal food. To men, especially, of a sacred character, flesh is forbidden, unless it is first sanctified by having been offered in sacrifice. It seems probable, that, in the primitive ages of the world, a custom not unlike this of the Brahmans generally pevailed, and that animals were not used as food, till certain portions of them, especially the more vital parts—such as the blood, the chief portion of the fat, as well as the heart, liver, &c., and often one of the principal joints—were presented as sacrifices. The remaining portions were thus hallowed, and then lawfully eaten, as a gift from God to men. Distinct traces of this ancient divine rule are to be found in the laws of the Brahmans, and in the practice of the various classes. The great ancient lawgiver of the Hindoos, Manu—the divine son of Bramha, says, in his directions to Brahmans, "It is delivered, as a rule of the gods, that flesh must be swallowed, *only for the purpose of sacrifice;* but it is a rule of gigantic demons, that it may be swallowed for any other purpose. No sin is committed by him, who, having honoured the deities and the manes, eats flesh meat, which he has bought, or which he has himself acquired, or which has been given him by another." Here, be it observed, the Brahman is not supposed to have killed the animal himself, so that this rule, as it stands, does not permit him to inflict pain with his own hands, by killing the animal for the sake of its flesh. According, then, to the law of Manu, regarded by every Hindoo as undoubtedly divine, and of the highest authority, a Brahman may eat flesh, but not till it has been offered to the gods. By Hindoos, in general, it is not considered quite right to feast on flesh, till at least a portion of the animal has been religiously presented. Sacrifices are not, however, common in all Hindoo temples, but are offered, most frequently, at least in the north, at the shrines of Durga, and Káli, who, as well as some other female deities, are supposed to have a peculiar delight in

blood. The animal is taken to one of the temples, where such rites are usually performed, where it is killed, sometimes by striking off its head with a sword. After giving some part to the Brahmans, or otherwise remunerating them, and having offered the blood, and some particular parts to the idol, they carry away the rest to feast themselves and their friends, either at their own houses, or, if these are too distant, at some convenient place near the temple. On one occasion that I visited a well known temple used for the worship of Debi, so many sacrifices had been presented in this way, in the course of the morning—consisting, like those of the Israelites, principally of lambs and kids—that the blood was flowing down the side of the street of the small town in which the temple is situated, as if from a common slaughter house. This would not, of course, be the case every day, but that day there happened to be some particular festival, and great crowds of people were assembled, many of whom were carrying out the separated joints of the sacrificed animals, and cooking them on the bank of the Ganges, where considerable groups were collected to enjoy the feast. It is easy to perceive the exact coincidence of this practice with that of the Israelites as directed by the Mosaic law. After killing the animal, and presenting the blood, fat, &c., and giving the priest, or sacrificer, a fixed portion, as a fee for his trouble, the individual by whom, and at whose expense the offering was made, carried away the other joints of the animal, and cooked them to feast his family, or friends, invited for the occasion, in the courts of the temple; or, if his house was sufficiently near, he took them home with him for the same purpose. The flesh was first to be hallowed by sacrifice, and then it might be lawfully used by the people, provided they were at the time ceremonially clean. With respect to the same subject, the Hindoo legislator, in his rules for the Brahmans, says, "Never let the priest eat the flesh of animals unhallowed by mantras—that is, by prayers and holy texts used in sacrifice—but let him eat it, observing the primeval rule, when it has been hallowed with those texts of the Veda." Whatever may be our opinion of the age in which Manu wrote, there can be no doubt that

when a sage so ancient, speaks of a "primeval rule," he refers to a practice of at least a very remote antiquity, though it may not be one of a period antecedent to the giving of the Mosaic law, but there is no evidence whatever, that any of the principal sacrificial rites were instituted by Moses, though his laws contain in all probability, a more full and definite set of rules, than previously existed, as it respects the method in which they were to be observed. From this remark we must except a few institutions, having their origin in the Iraelitish history, such as the passover, and the feast of tabernacles; but the non-existence of these and some others of the same kind, among the religious rites of the Brahmans, greatly strengthens our opinion, that many of them are derived from the anti-Mosaic, patriarchal religion.

Moses does not prohibit the use of animal food by the priests, nor does Manu. But while the former puts it under certain restrictions as to the kinds to be regarded as pure, the latter goes much farther in the same direction, so as to discourage in general, and as it respects the Brahmans in particular, all eating of the flesh of tame, or useful domestic animals, though they may freely eat those that are killed in the chase, if not of an unclean species. Even with respect to the latter, some exceptions are made; as for instance, the flesh of the wild boar may be freely used by the Brahmans, without any violation of the rules of caste, while that of a tame one, is strictly forbidden. Manu says, "Beasts and birds of excellent (*i. e.* clean) sorts may be slain by Brahmans for sacrifice, or for the sustenance of those whom they are bound to support, since Agastya, (one of the most holy sages,) did thus of old. No doubt in the primeval sacrifices by holy men, and in oblations by those of the priestly, and military tribes, the flesh of such beasts and birds as may be legally eaten, was presented to the gods." As a general rule, therefore, what might be lawfully sacrificed might be lawfully eaten, the distinction between clean and unclean, having, originally, a reference to the primeval sacrifical rites. The Brahmans are not, therefore, prohibited from eating flesh, but limited to that which has been, or at least may

be presented to the gods; and when they desire to eat flesh, it ought, according to the proper rules, to be hallowed by a portion of it being religiously devoted. Many of the Brahmans, however, especially in Bengal, profess to think it sinful to use flesh of any kind, in any circumstances. The cruelty of destroying life is the usual reason asigned, and many of them will maintain, that, to kill animals, even in the wild state, is very sinful, however, minute, or even troublesome the creature may be; so that some of them profess to think it even wrong to kill a musquito, or any other insect, by which they are bit. Such are, however, very often liable to refutation from their own daily practice.

Having thus referred to Hindoo sacrifices, it may be regarded as desirable to know in what light they are usually regarded by the people of India. Are they of an expiatory nature, as designed to atone for sin? or may they be regarded merely as expressions of homage, in the same way as money, or other articles, are presented to superiors, in token of respect? That most of the offerings presented to the gods, are of the latter character, there can be no doubt; but yet the sacrificing of animals would seem to imply more. The sentiments of most of the people, and even of many of the Brahmans with whom I have conversed on the subject, are, however, in general of a very confused nature; but still the idea of substitution seems partially at least to exist among them, though not in a well defined form. I was often in my preaching and conversation, in the habit of referring to their well known practice of presenting these sacrifices, in order to illustrate the grand object of the death of Christ, as a great sacrifice for sin, and it seemed always distinctly perceived to be an obvious case of analogy. Still it is quite possible, that in many instances, though I do not think in all, the explanation of the great object of sacrifices, thus suggested by us, may either in whole or in part, have been quite new to them; though, from being so very natural, it was readily received when brought forward as a mode of accounting for an old custom, sufficiently reasonable to meet with their approbation, though it had no place in their minds before. It is quite

evident that most of them have no other idea whatever, but that the gods like the smell of blood &c., and are much pleased with the honour of being noticed by an expensive mode of worship, and, therefore, will be ready to bestow great favours on those who go to the expense of costly offerings, or sacrifices, of valuable animals. It is evident that many even of the Israelites, had no higher sentiments than these, with respect to the object of their divinely appointed sacrificial rites, though they had much higher and purer conceptions of the true character of the supreme Being, to whom they were presented; and it was not till the death of Christ had explained it, that the real meaning of the Jewish sacrifices was properly understood, and not even then, till it had been unfolded by a further revelation, communicated through the apostles. Though, from the entire corruption of the primeval religion, those sacrifices are no longer presented to the true God, but with vague and confused notions of appeasing, or conciliating, capricious, and even wicked beings; who are supposed to have both the power and the will to do evil, but may be bribed by honours, and offerings to do good, they may yet be employed to explain to the minds of the heathen, the nature and object of the great new covenant sacrifice; so that the original institution as observed by Abel, Noah, and other Patriarchs, irrespective of the Mosaic, or temporarily interposed dispensation, may be said still, notwithstanding its innumerable corruptions, to be in some degree answering its original end, among those great nations on whom the Jewish institutions have had, if any, but very small effect, and whose systems of worship, now so much perverted, are, in all their essential principles, too ancient to be derived from that delivered to the tribes of Israel from Sinai.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANTIQUITY OF BENARES.—ITS CONNEXION WITH THE RISE AND EARLY PROPAGATION OF BUDHISM.—BIRTH-PLACE OF BUDHA.—THE BRAHMANICAL ORIGIN OF BUDHISM, AND ITS EARLY EXTENSION TO THE ISLAND OF CEYLON, AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF EASTERN ASIA.—BUDHISTIC REMAINS IN THE VICINITY OF BENARES.

THE origin and early history of Benares, are lost in the obscurity of ancient times, though there is no reason to believe that any part of the present city is of very great antiquity. None of its buildings are of ancient date, though a large portion of the materials of which some of them are composed, bears evident marks of having been originally used in erections of a different and more ornamental character, than those into which they have been built in more recent times. The rich carvings, and mythological figures, to be seen on many of the stones, or fragments, now mixed up with the most common building materials, plainly indicate that they were originally portions of far more splendid edifices than those of which they now form a part. Many even of the large and well carved images of the gods, have shared the fate of other stones, and become part of the walls of common houses. It is highly probable, that the city itself has gradually shifted, so that its present site is several miles to the westward of the place where it originally stood. For several miles to the north-east, the ground is covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, and hewen stones. Even the foundations of buildings are discernible, and many mounds of various kinds and sizes, from some of which stone images, and sarcophagi have frequently been dug. Most of these have evidently not been of Brahmanical, but of Budhistic origin, and consequently belong to a period, anterior to the complete, or final ascendancy of the former, over the latter system of religion. Benares, especially under its more common name of Káshi, is often refered to in the Hindoo Shasters, even as a place of religious im-

portance, so that it must have been built before those Shasters called the Puránas, were written, and therefore, before Hinduism acquired its present form. Those who regard Budhism, as a more ancient system than Hinduism, would say that Benares was more ancient than Hinduism itself, and that Hinduism was not introduced into Benares, or at least did not become the dominant religion there, till a little before the Christian era.

That in many parts of India, Budhism was established at an earlier period than Hinduism, there seems to be every reason to think, but that it is really a more ancient system, it is very difficult to believe, especially as the Budhists themselves represent their religion as having, as far as its present form, and dispensation, are concerned, originated at Benares; from the neighbourhood of which it was, to a large extent, propagated by Brahmans. It is more natural to regard Hinduism, and its great rival Budhism, as sects of the same general religion, though they ultimately diverged more widely, as their respective adherents became embittered against each other, by long protracted controversy, as well as by mutual wrongs and persecutions.

That Brahmanical Hinduism, and Budhism were, at one time, not so widely separated from each other as now, seems evident from the fact, that in the Budhist annals of the Island of Ceylon, called the Mahawansu in the ancient Páli language, Brahmans are constantly introduced as the active propagators of Budhism, so that their existence, as a tribe, distinct from the rest of the people of India, even when Budhism arose, is fully acknowledged. The essential principle of Budhism, that the supreme Being, considered in himself, is the Universe, incomprehensible, quiesent, without cognizable attributes, and above all worship, has always been held by many of the Hindoo sects; so that Budhism properly so called, has no doctrines of importance peculiar to itself, though it has given them a practical development of a different kind, from what they have received among the various sects, who have not entirely separated from Hinduism.

The strongest proof, however, that the Brahmans and Budhists

were not at first so widely separated, nor so hostile to each other, as they afterwards became, is the fact, that, according to the Budhists themselves, out of the twenty-four incarnations of Budha, the three latest are said to have been Brahmans, the last of whom—the real founder of the system as now existing—was born at Benares. The eighteenth incarnation was also at Benares, and hence the peculiar connexion of this city with the early history of Budhism—being to it what Mecca was to the Muhammadan religion, but having ceased to have the same influence from the decline of Budhism in the surrounding provinces. The last supposed incarnation of Budha having been a Benares Brahman, the doctrines which he taught were, probably, at first chiefly propagated from this city; and the intimate connexion of the two systems, at the outset, is also clearly indicated by the fact, that the Gautama of the Budhists is, likewise, often represented as having become incarnate in the form of a Brahman. He is thus represented in the Mahawansu during the first, third, fifth, sixth, thirteenth, fourteenth, sixteenth, twenty-second, and twenty-fourth incarnations of Budha. Thus, out of the twenty-four supposed incarnations, he has appeared nine times as a Brahman, according to the Budhists' own account, who, certainly, are not disposed to flatter the Brahmans—a most distinct proof not only that the two systems of Hinduism and Budhism co-existed in India in early times, but that they were not then so widely apart from each other, nor their adherents, at first, such enemies, as they afterwards became.

Into the question as to whether Brahmanical Hinduism or Budhism actually originated first, we shall not enter; our opinion, that both systems are merely branches from the same primeval root, not being affected by the decision of the question, as to which first began to diverge farther than the other from the original stem—itself having perished, like the parent trunk of many a wide-spread Banian long since withered and gone, while the branches have sent out many an off-shoot that has struck deep root, and now seems an entirely independent tree.

It is worthy of remark, however, that the Budhists themselves

admit the existence of the Brahmans as a distinct tribe, or class, during the earliest of their mythological periods, when the first supposed incarnations of Budha took place. It is not, indeed, at all likely that the Hindoo religion, as now taught by the Brahmans, was then fully developed, or its common sacred books even written; and still less is it likely, that the Brahmanical tribe was either so numerous, or so entirely separated from the other Hindoo tribes, as it is now. It may easily be admitted that Budhism is more ancient than the great body of the Hindoo Shasters. This the Brahmans themselves readily allow; and that at one time it prevailed so extensively in India, that Hinduism was very nearly extinguished, is also manifest; but the claim of an independent origin, prior to that of Hinduism, can only be advanced by those who are disposed to believe in the imaginary incarnations of Budha—*i. e.*, of the Brahman Kasyap, said to have been born at Benares, but who had, according to his disciples, been incarnate often before. During this last of the twenty-four incarnations, Budha was a Brahman, and the existence of the Brahmans, in the first even of the mythological eras, is distinctly taught by the Budhists, for they say that "Gautama was then a member of an illustrious Brahman family in the city of Amarawati." As the Muhammadans, therefore, maintain that their religion existed from Adam, but do not deny the intermediate dispensations—Muhammad being only commissioned to restore what had been lost—so Budhism professes to have had many previous dispensations, or incarnations, though that one which took place at Benares, in the person of the Brahman Kasyap, is the only true religion now; all records of the early incarnations being lost, and the only information respecting them being now derived from divine revelation.

To what extent the doctrines peculiar to Budhism had been developed, before they were taught by the Brahman Kasyap at Benares, and gave rise to the great split between the Budhists and Brahmans, it is impossible to say, but that to a large extent these doctrines were then new, seems highly probable, from a very singular principal of the Budhist creed. According to Budhism, the

period intervening between one Budha and another is so great, that not only has the whole system of his religion become corrupted, but every record of its existence on earth has perished. This remarkable admission at once proves, that all the pretensions of Budhism, to an antiquity beyond the last, or only real Budha, its founder, who was a Brahman, is a mere fiction, invented to give the system an ancient and venerable appearance in the eyes of its votaries; and as Muhammad professed, merely to restore the religion of the patriarchs, so the Budha of Benares, professed only to reproduce a religion which had been lost, and the whole of whose original records had perished, and did not claim to be its actual founder. Benares, according, therefore, to the Budhists, is the place where the present dispensation of their religion originated, (the previous periods of it, we may at once regard as fabulous,) as its doctrines were here first taught by a Brahman, regarded by them as the last incarnation of Budha. It is thus also clearly admitted by the Budhist writers, that, whatever may have been the extent to which the present system of Brahmanical Hinduism had been then developed, the Brahmans existed in India as a distinct race, or tribe, and were themselves the founders, and chief propagators, of Budhism, as it now exists. That Budhism, therefore, was at first an off-shoot, if not from Hinduism itself, at least from the same original stem, when it was probably still but a small plant, seems next to certain. That it was first preached at Benares, gives a peculiar interest to this remarkable city, as the chief point from which, in connexion with the neighbouring province of Bahár, the two most celebrated systems of philosophic and pantheistic paganism, have emanated, and been successfully propagated over the civilized world, acquiring, and still exercising, an extraordinary influence over the character and destinies of the most distinguished nations of eastern Asia, and greatly modifying to the present hour, the various systems of philosophy known even in western Europe, as well as some of the doctrines held by certain portions of the Christian church.

All the three last incarnations of Budha are said to have been

Brahmans, thus carrying the Budhist acknowledgement of the previous existence of the Brahmans as a separate race, if not as a religious order, far into the mythological, or fabulous eras, before the Budhist system, as now known was, according to its own traditions, taught as a divine revelation. But though both systems, in all probability, originally sprang from the same root, their respective adherents became afterwards irreconcileable enemies, in consequence of fierce, and long continued struggles for ascendency. Their doctrines, and religious practices, by protracted antagonism, became more and more opposed to each other. The Brahmans still regard the Budhists, of every sect, as most incorrigible atheists; and that their doctrines have a strong tendency to atheism, there can be little doubt; while, in their turn, the Budhists look on the Brahmans with hatred and aversion. The Brahmans of Benares, especially, always insist that the Jains, a sect of Budhists, who have still several temples in the city, were formerly in the habit of annually sacrificing a Brahman, but that now, being prevented from doing so, by the civil authorities, they merely sacrifice one in effigy. I have not been able to ascertain, whether or not this latter practice actually exists, as the Jains are not so willing as the Hindoos to admit strangers to witness their sacred rites; but I have every reason to think that, in this affair at least, they are calumniated; nor is it very likely that such an insulting practice could be carried on with impunity, in the midst of such a Brahmanical population as that of Benares, unless in a very secret manner.

That at an early period of its history, Budhism was propagated at, and from Benares,—as might naturally be expected, from its being the scene of some of the incarnations of the supreme Budha, and of a still greater number of the subordinate of the Budhist system, Gaudama, is manifest from existing records of the progress of its doctrines, both in India itself, and in the island of Ceylon, as well as in other countries adjacent to Hindustan, such as Cashmere, Nepal, Burma, and Siam. The progress of Budhism, in general, like that of Brahmanical Hinduism, in India, was from north to south. It reached the island of Ceylon, however, not as might have

been expected, from southern India, but by sea, directly from Bengal, and Bahár, about the year 307 before the Christian era, but was not introduced into China, till about thirty-three years after the rise of Christianity in western Asia.*

According to the Mahawansu, or annals of Ceylon, that island would seem to have been originally peopled with savages, who, as usual in ancient mythological writings, are represented as demons, or beings of a rude and mischievous character, but possessed of superhuman powers. These were subdued by adventurers from northern India, who, having sailed from the Ganges, in quest of new settlements, landed in Ceylon, where they overran and subjugated the island, and having driven many of the savage tribes, represented as Yakhas, or demons, to the mountains in the interior, formed colonies, especially on the coast, composed of the same races of men as then inhabited northern India. This seems the only rational interpretation of the Páli legends respecting the hero Wijaiyo, who is said to have conquered, and subjected to his control, the Yakhas of Ceylon, the ultimate consequence of whose conquest was the introduction of Budhism, to that far famed island. The traditionary accounts of him, are contained in the seventh chapter of the Mahawansu; where he is said to have been the son of the king of Lála, in northern India, and in early life a very troublesome and profligate character. On this account he and his companions in mischief, seven hundred in number, were banished by the king his father, having first had their heads shaved. Having been forced on board a vessel, they were turned out to sea, their wives being placed on another vessel, and their children on a third.

* "Gotama Budha, by whom, according to the creed of the Budhists, the whole scheme of their historical data, anterior to his advent, was thus revealed, entered on his divine mission, in the year Before Christ 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Bimbisára, sovereign of Magadha, (who became a convert to Budhism) and died in the year 543 Before Christ." Introduction to the Mahawansu, by the Hon. G. Turnour, Esq. Budhism, therefore, was introduced into Benares about the commencement of the Babylonish captivity, and Budha died about the time, that Daniel was receiving his visions of the future destinies of the kingdoms of the world.

After being turned adrift, as the tradition goes, the three parties floated in different directions, and settled in different countries. The men landed on the island of Ceylon, where Wijaiyo, whose name means, the conqueror, after many very wonderful and supernatural adventures, was completely victorious over the Yakhas, or demons, and having subdued them to his authority, reigned over the island, and became the founder of a kingdom, and dynasty, which flourished for long, and thus connected the history of Ceylon with that of northern India. After conquering Ceylon, Wijaiyo, is said, to have formed several settlements for himself and his followers and to have sent to the continent of India to obtain in marriage the daughter of Panduwo king of Madhura, after which he continued for long to rule over the country with justice and discretion. On his death, there being no direct heir to the throne of Ceylon, his brother's son from India succeeded him. This prince obtained in marriage the daughter of a Rája from northern India, thus keeping up the connexion of the reigning family of Ceylon, with the country from which it had first migrated. This race of the conquerors of Ceylon continued to reign over the island for ages, forming their marriage connexions chiefly with the families of the Rájas of northern India, from whom they themselves had originally sprung. In consequence, it appears, of this connexion, Budhism was introduced into Ceylon, from Magadh, now called Bahár, on the Ganges, by the sage Mahindo, according to the Budhist annals, in the year 307 before Christ, in the reign of Dewananpiatissa, king of the island.

The sage Mahindo, the great Budhist missionary from northern India to Ceylon, was the son of Asoka, king of Pátálipura,—the Palibothra of the ancient Greek writers, which, as we have seen, most likely stood near the present site of Patna in the province of Bahár,—the Magadh of the ancient Hindoos. After Mahindo, who is represented as a sage of great holiness, and possessed of supernatural powers, had taught the religion of Budha, to the king, the nobles, and many of the people of Ceylon, he is said to have sent to Bahár for his sister, who was a priestess of Budhism, to communi-

cate that religion to the women of the island. This princess, taking with her eleven other priestesses, carrying along with them the branch of the sacred Bo tree of the Budhists, planted in a golden vase, "attended by eighteen persons of royal race, eight Brahmans, and eight of each other caste," embarked on the Ganges, along with the ambassadors from Ceylon, and, sailing from the mouth of the river, reached that island by sea. There she acted as the High Priestess of Budhism, ordaining the king's daughter, and many other ladies, to the sacred office. The fact that she is said to have been accompanied on this important mission by eight Brahmans, shows that, about three hundred years before Christ, Hinduism and Budhism were not so greatly removed from each other as they now appear to be, but would seem merely to have been sects of the same general religion. The mention, also, of the various other principal castes of the Hindoos, clearly shows that the distinctions of caste were then known, and, consequently, that Hinduism, as far as this celebrated institution is concerned, was even then more or less developed into the form in which it now exists, as the Budhists themselves have no system of hereditary tribes, or castes of any kind.

While it would seem that the province of Bahár was the principal part of the country where Budhism most flourished, Benares was evidently much connected with its propagation over the rest of India. Budha is represented in the Mahawansu as rising from his meditations in the Mahaságura garden, in the island of Ceylon, and thus resolving—"For the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of this land, let the chief Theri, (or priestess) Sudhamma, together with her retinue of priestesses, repair hither; bringing with her the right branch of the nigrodha Bo tree, obtaining it from king Kissu at Banarasi nagar in Jambudwipa"—that is, at Benares in India proper. This sacred branch, or slip, of the holy tree, the planting of which was emblematical of, and essential to, the establishment of Budhism in Ceylon, was to be obtained from Benares, which must, therefore, at that period—viz., about three hundred years before Christ—have been regarded by the Budhists as a place of sacred

importance. The priestess having obtained this sacred branch at Benares, planted it in a golden vase, and with a great retinue proceeded with it down the Ganges; and then having gone with it by sea to Ceylon, delivered it to the monarch of that island, by whom it was planted in the sacred garden.

That Budhism was at its very rise, long before this period, established at Benares, and propagated from that city and the neighbouring districts over other parts of India, and the surrounding countries, is very plainly asserted in the ancient records of that religion. It is said, by the early writer so often quoted, "The supreme Gautama Budha—thus in due order—fulfilled all the probationary courses, and obtained the supreme omniscient Budhahood, that he might redeem mankind from the miseries of sin. At the foot of the Bo tree at Uruwalaya, in the kingdom of Magadh, (South Bahár) on the day of the full moon of the month Baisákha this great divine sage, achieved the supreme all-perfect Budhahood. This divine sojourner, displaying the supreme beatitude, derived by the final emancipation from human afflictions, tarried in this neighbourhood for seven times seven days. Proceeding from thence to Banarasi, (Benares,) he proclaimed the supremacy of his faith, and while yet sojourning during the Wassa, he procured for sixty converts the sanctification of the Arâhat. Dispersing abroad these disciples, for the purpose of propagating his doctrines, and, thereafter, having himself converted thirty (princes) of the inseparably allied tribe of Bhadda; the Saviour, with a view to converting Kassapa and his thousand jatilans, took up his abode at Uruwalaya, during the Hamanta devoting himself to their instruction."* This passage, from the Budhist annals, therefore, distinctly asserts that the founder of Budhism first promulgated his doctrines at Benares long before the year 307 before Christ—the generally received date of the introduction, or rather establishment, of his religion in the Island of Ceylon, and its more universal propagation in the surrounding countries; and, therefore, proves the existence

* Before Christ, probably, 587 years.

of this city, and of the Brahmanical order with whom the doctrines of Budhism originated in it, at a period not probably less than five hundred years earlier than the Christian era.

At the time when Alexander the Great invaded north-western India, the Budhist kingdom of Magadh was flourishing, and the power of its sovereigns alarmed the Greek army of the Macedonian adventurer, and induced him to retrace his steps without attempting to cross the Sutledje, or advance to attack the rich and powerful states on the Ganges. But the fact that Benares existed, though not as the seat of a powerful kingdom, but still as a place of religious importance—sending out missionaries to teach Budhism, long before the first great empires of the world, in western Asia, reached the crisis of their fate, and were broken up by the first recoil of the European on the Asiatic nations—is a fact of interest in the history of mankind, and places Benares among the few cities of the ancient world that have survived the wreck of nations. Still more interesting is the fact, that, through all the great changes that have passed around it, its character as a place of religious influence, should have been retained.

The zeal with which the Budhists propagated their doctrines was evidently very great. It has sometimes been asserted, that Christianity alone has a missionary character, but this is a very great mistake. All great systems that profess to be founded on a divine revelation, with the partial exception of the Mosaic dispensation, which, though it admitted converts, was not actively aggressive, have, at least in their origin and early stages, been propagated by living teachers, who have zealously engaged in work analogous to that of the Christian missionary; though, no doubt, force as well as persuasion has, in many cases, been employed. Even Muhammadanism, which is merely a mongrel creed between Judaism and Christianity, and not deserving the name of a doctrinal system, was at first dependent on preaching for its success; and though it has employed the sword, it has depended, and still depends, more for its real progress on the activity of its public teachers. Both Hinduism and Budhism were, in early ages, propagated, by means of

missions, over the great and populous regions of the east; though, wherever either of these two great religions became fully established, especially the former, they settled down into hereditary systems, and gradually lost the expansive power of their original principles. The principle of propagation has at no time, however, been extinguished even in Hinduism, but has manifested itself in the constant rise and agitation of new systems of doctrine and practice, leading to the formation of innumerable sects and parties within its own pale, so that, as with Christianity, the spirit of proselytism, when pent up, has not ceased to exist, and has not become inactive, but has spent itself on party feuds.

The rapid progress of Budhism, like that of Christianity, was early arrested by internal discord; for, had its adherents not split into sects and factions, and had most violent altercations among themselves, their religion might have become almost universal in the east. In the second century, after the death of Budha, there arose seventeen schisms among his disciples, most of which were on the continent of India, but some of them in Ceylon. These schisms among the Budhists, no doubt, facilitated the progress of Hinduism, and of the Brahmanical influence in particular, while they completely checked the growth of Budhism, and eventually led to its ruin, both in the north and south of India. Its spread at one time, when its doctrines were comparatively new, had, undoubtedly, been very rapid, and the zeal and energy of its teachers very remarkable. The Budhist writer, after giving an account, no doubt, in many respects fabulous and exaggerated, of the extensive missions undertaken by the great men, or apostles, of the sect, to preach the doctrines of Budha, their great teacher, in all parts, not merely of India, but also of the surrounding countries, concludes his sketch of their labours by the following striking expressions:—"These (disciples,) following the example of the all-compassionate vanquisher's resignation of supreme beatitude, laying aside the exalted state of happiness attained by them, for the benefit of mankind, undertook these missions to various countries. Who is there that would demur when the salvation of the world is at stake?" Such are the

words of an Indian heathen writer in reference to the propagation of a system of doctrine and discipline regarded, no doubt, by him as divine. May the sentiment expressed in them be that of every Christian, but in reference to the extension of a more divine and a purer faith! "*Who is there that would demur when the salvation of the world is at stake!*"

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Budhism, having first risen among the Brahmans of northern India, was promulgated both by men of that, and other Hindoo tribes. This is manifest from the annals of the sect. When Sanghamitta, daughter of the king of Bahár, embarked on the Ganges for Ceylon, where she was called to be high priestess of Budhism, she is said to have been accompanied by "eighteen personages of noble blood, eighteen members of noble families, eight of the Brahman, and eight of the Setha, or mercantile caste, and similar numbers of the lower castes." This proves that, at that time, Budhism did not stand so completely isolated from Hinduism, as then existing, as it does now; since we thus find that all the different castes of the Hindoos joined in solemn religious ceremonies along with Budhists, and in missions for the propagation of that faith in foreign countries. It is, therefore, most likely that the two sects were at first merely modifications of the same general system of religion, professed, according to inclination, by members of any existing tribes, or castes in the country; in the same way as there are still among the Hindoos many sects of devotees, such as the Gosains, Bairágees, Jogees, Sanyásees, Nágas, &c., whose doctrines and discipline differ very widely from those of the popular creed, but who are all regarded, nevertheless, as Hindoos. Some of these sects hold doctrines, in many respects, similar to those of the Budhists, and give up all the rules of their castes, but are still tolerated, and even held in a certain degree of respect, by the orthodox. The great struggle for general ascendancy between the regular Brahmans, claiming the hereditary monopoly of religious offices and influence, and the Budhist teachers, by whom these claims were resisted, and the fierce faction wars which these contests occasioned, embittered both parties, and ultimately

separated them to an utterly irreconcilable distance from each other. The general coincidence, however, of their fundamental doctrines with those of some of the principal Hindoo sects, very distinctly marks a common origin; and the Hindoos themselves acknowledge Budha as one of the incarnations of Vishna, though they attribute to his doctrines an atheistical character, thus presenting the strange anomaly, of a god propagating a faith subversive of a belief in the divine existence. According, therefore, even to Hinduism, Budhism—which is regarded by the Brahmans as a system of atheism—was actually promulgated on earth by an incarnation of the deity. But then it must be remembered that Budhism itself teaches the doctrine of human elevation to deity, by supreme devotion—a sentiment not very different from some of the modes in which the Hindoo sects represent the doctrine of absorption into the divine essence, by exalted devotion. Neither party can mean that man becomes God, or even *a god*, by any process of spiritualization, but that, by supreme devotion, the soul, disentangled from matter and passions, rises as a pure essence, and enters into the divine being, and, therefore, is subject no longer to afflictive migrations, but becomes a part of the pure Godhead, having no conscious existence separate from God, in his abstract nature. The soul of a common man "comes and goes" as some of the Hindoo sects express it, but that of the man who reaches supreme devotion ascends like a pure flame unto God, and "comes not again." The doctrine held by some of the Hindoo devotees is expressed in the following lines, in which that supreme knowledge is referred to, which can be reached only by supreme devotion:—

He must know his own soul, though in doubt and in darkness,
Bewildered it wanders, and gropes for its way,
He must sever the bonds that enchain it to nature,
And then it will rise to the regions of day,
Whence it comes not, and goes not. It comes not again,

The snow flake that glances at morn on Kailása,
Dissolved by the sunbeams descends to the plain,

There mingling with Gunga it flows to the ocean,
And lost in its waters returns not again,
Then it comes not. It goes not. It comes not again.

On the rose-leaf at sunrise, bright glistens the dew-drop,
That, in vapour exhaled, falls in nourishing rain,
Then in rills back to Gunga, through green fields meanders
Whence onward it glides to the ocean again.
Then it comes not. It goes not. It comes not again.

A snow flake still whitens the peak of Kailása,
But the snow flake of yesterday flows to the main,
At dawning a dew-drop still hangs on the rose-leaf,
But the dew-drop of yesterday comes not again,
It comes not, and goes not. It comes not again.

So childhood to man is the bright sunny morning,
But at noon midst the tempests he struggles in vain,
In the current ere evening he floats down exhausted,
Till in nature's vast ocean he mingles again,
Then he comes not, and goes not. He comes not again.

But the soul that is freed from the bondage of nature,
Escapes from illusions of joy, and of pain,
And pure as the flame that is lost in the sunbeams,
Ascends into God, and returns not again,
Then it comes not, and goes not. It comes not again.

There can be little doubt but Budhism originated in very ancient times, even in its present form, and that before the gross and degrading system of Puranic Hinduism had assumed the shape in which it now appears; though Brahmanism, as originally existing in India, may have been more ancient than any *surviving* form of Budhism. In the south of India, it was, most probably, in many places, introduced long before Brahmanical Hinduism; but this does not prove its actual priority of origin, but merely its priority of propagation in those parts, as in many

places, Muhammadanism has preceded Christianity, though well known to have arisen six hundred years later. In the south of India, the ascendency of Hinduism, would seem to have, for the most part, arisen from conquests effected in those provinces, by the Khatria Rájas of northern and western India, who, being almost entirely under the influence of the Brahmans themselves, established their own thrones and the dominion of the Brahmans, at the same time, on the ruins of the Budhist kingdoms of the south. Thus, though in many parts of India Budhism was fully established long before Brahmanism, there is no proof that such had invariably been the case, while almost all the traditionary accounts represent Budhism as a sect that sprang up suddenly in India, though its doctrines may not have been entirely new; and for a time at least, obtained a greater, and more wide spread influence, than regular Hinduism ever has done. At last, however, though some of its doctrines are still common, especially among various sects of Hindoo devotees, Budhism in its more regular forms, has been almost entirely expelled from India, by the gradual progress of the Brahmanical faith,—a faith, notwithstanding all its errors and gross corruptions, possessed of some points of decided superiority to the Semi-atheism of the Budhist system. Still it ought to be kept in mind, that there is every probability, that Budhism arose long before Hinduism reached its present form, or before the common mythological Shasters of the Hindoos, usually called the Puránas, or "ancient books," were written. Though the name of these is expressive of antiquity, there is no doubt but there are many of them comparatively recent; and most of them refer to the rise of Budhism, as an ancient fact. It is manifest, however, that it arose in the comparative infancy of Brahmanism, and even for a time would seem to have eclipsed it, and threatened its entire destruction; but afterwards, from divisions among its teachers, and also in consequence of the superior prowess of the native princes, who took the side of the Brahmans, Budhism lost its ground on the continent of India, though it still kept its influence in the Island of Ceylon, as well as in Burma, Siam, and other neigh-

bouring countries. It did not make much progress in China, till it had begun to decline in some other countries, and especially in India. Into those provinces of the south, the more warlike Rájas of the north and west of India, the great patrons of the Brahmans, and the real promoters of their influence, never extended their conquests, except merely in sudden expeditions, for the acquisition of military fame, or of plunder. Their successes never resulted in the formation of regular empires, or permanent rule.

Budhism seems, for a time, to have prevailed almost universally in the south, after Hinduism had full possession of the north. Those provinces would appear, at last, to have been overrun and conquered by the northern Rájas, who having, by their inroads acquired territories for themselves, established Hindoo dynasties, introduced the Brahmans, and with the resourses which they had acquired by conquest, erected the greatest temples now to be found in India, and gradually turned the various tribes of their conquered subjects into Hindoos. These tribes, or castes of the south, have never, indeed, been regarded as quite pure, or as real orthodox Hindoos, as they have still very many superstitions not quite of Hindoo origin, and even gods not to be found in the more regular pantheon. The Brahmans, however, having had the patronage of the Rájas, managed to turn the people into abject slaves, both to themselves and their civil rulers, as in addition to their religious character they generally held all the principal offices of the state, while they divided with their military patrons, most of the real property of the country.

But to return to Benares. According to the Budhist accounts, as we have already stated, the twenty-fourth, or last incartion of Budha took place at Benares. His name was Kassap, or Kassyapa. His parents were the Brahman, Brahmadatta and his wife Dhanawati. The Gautama of the same era, was also a Brahman of the name of Jotipála. It is, therefore, worthy of particular notice, that the last of the series of Budhas, and the only one that can be at all regarded as a real historical character, all the rest being merely mythological, is both by Budhists and Hindoos, distinctly said to have been a Benares Brahman,—that Gautama—

who is the Budha of the present system, was also a Brahman, and that, not only does this prove that the Brahmanical order existed when Budhism arose, or at least when it assumed the form in which it has come down to modern times, but also that it first sprang up at the Brahmanical city of Benares, in connexion with that of Gaya, in Bahár, among the Brahmans themselves, by whom chiefly it was first propagated. Whatever, therefore, may have been the antiquity of some of the doctrines of the Budhist system, or of those now peculiar to Hinduism, these circumstances combined, afford the strongest presumption, that Budhism, as now existing, was nothing more at first, than a secession from the general religion of the country, and not a system of religion having an origin entirely independent of Hinduism, as practised in ancient times, though more ancient than many of its present sacred books, or more recent mythology and idolatrous rites. Had not Hinduism, in one form or another, existed before Budhism, how could the Budhists themselves, in relating the early triumphs of their religion, make constant reference to their incarnate deity as a Brahman, and also to the Brahmans, the most sacred tribe of the Hindoos, as actually engaged, in conjunction with other Hindoo castes, in the propagation of Budhism in the neighbouring countries, though very probably at a period long before Hinduism had devoloped all its present doctrines, and usages, or even reached anything like maturity, or general extension over India.

The fact that, in many parts of India, Budhistic remains, such as cave temples, round towers, &c., are to be found evidently of more ancient date, than any Hindoo remains in the same provinces, is no serious objection to the opinion that both systems co-existed for a long time, and were merely different developments of the same general, or fundamental doctrines, diverging wider and wider, as affected by time and circumstances; for, whatever theory we adopt, as to the origin of either religion, it is manifest that Hinduism and Budhism had both existed for many ages in India, before they had spread over the whole of the country. In one place, Budhism might have first obtained a footing, and in another, Hinduism; and while in

one district success attended the Budhist teachers, in another, the Brahmans secured the entire ascendency, as has been the case with Romanism and Protestantism in Europe. Though Budhism may not be the more ancient form, which the early religion of India took, it was no doubt propagated with more zeal than Hinduism, and in many provinces, now entirely Hindoo, it first obtained the ascendency, over the more simple superstitions of the aboriginal nations, especially of the south of India, while, beyond the limits of India proper, it spread far more rapidly, and much more widely, than Brahmanical Hinduism ever has done. Because it appears evident, that, in many parts, Budhism must have been established more anciently than Hinduism, many have concluded, that Hinduism did not originate in India, till Budhism was on the wane. But however respectable the names of some who hold this theory, we have not seen any sufficient evidence to warrant its adoption, as a mode of explaining some difficulties well known to exist. In our opinion, such a theory has still greater difficulties in its way than the other, and is not necessary to explain the fact admitted, that, in many parts, there are Budhist monuments undoubtedly more ancient than those of Hinduism in the same places, or provinces; for, though Hinduism is by us regarded as the more ancient of the two systems, we think it evident, that it was but one of the religions of India in early times, and that, in many parts of the country, its introduction is quite modern. In some districts, especially in the south, Hinduism has been introduced within the last few centuries; and even since the English obtained possession of the country, several mountaineer tribes, even of the north, have become Hindoos, who previously had only some rude, vulgar superstitions, but no regular system of religion at all.

But though the Hinduism of some parts of India may be quite modern, and the whole system may have been greatly altered by time, and variously modified in its doctrines, there can be little doubt, but in all its essential principles, it is a religion of very ancient date, and that the Brahmanical tribes, among whom it had most probably been developed gradually, and who have always been

its teachers and priesthood, are also of very high antiquity; though the subject of their origin, as a religious order, is too obscure to admit of any thing more than conjecture. North-western India would always seem to have been the native seat and stronghold of Brahmanical Hinduism, or at least, the region in which, during a period of perhaps many centuries before the Christian era, it gradually assumed a form nearly similar to that which it now presents. Before, however, it had reached this mature form, Budhism sprung from it, and for many ages maintained an obstinate struggle for the ascendency; and being of a more active and aggressive nature, and less encumbered by the unnatural distinctions of caste, it spread rapidly over India, and even into many of the surrounding countries, where the more complicated, and inert system of Bramanism has never been able to penetrate. The Brahmans, however, had too firm a hold in the north of India to be easily overcome, and having the influence of the more powerful ruling dynasties of Hindustan on their side, they succeeded in almost extirpating Budhism from its native country, but were unable to expell it from the more distant provinces of the south; while in the Island of Ceylon, and the regions of Chin India, or the ultra-Gangetic kingdoms, it still continues to be, more or less, the religion of the state.

But though in southern India, Hinduism in general, is of comparatively modern date, it is not so in every part of the south, for there is abundant evidence to prove, that some of the southern Rájas were Hindoos, at a very early period, from their having built large temples, and given extensive patronage to the Brahmans. But this is no more a proof, that Hinduism was the common religion of their subjects, than the building of the great mosque, at Benares, by the Muhammadan Emperor Aurungzebe, proves that Muhammadanism, was at that time the religion of the holy city of the Hindoos. Such great religious edifices, are sometimes erected by conquerors, in honour of their own gods, while the mass of their conquered subjects, whose wealth and labour are employed in the work, continue of another religion. Such was probably the origin of the great Hindoo temples, of the south of

India. The Rájas were, for the most part, the conquerors of the nations over whom they ruled; and whether their people were Budhists, or, for the most part (which is more likely) rude tribes, ignorant of any particular, or abstract, religious system, and sunk in low vulgar superstitions, the men by whom the Rájas themselves were more immediately surrounded, were in general Brahmans, and warlike adventurers, from among the military, or Khatria tribes of the north, whose religion was Hinduism. These were naturally the supporters of the northern dynasties, in connexion with whose military expeditions, they first migrated to the south; and through their influence, the conquered tribes of those provinces, were either intermingled with, or formed into, Hindoo Sudra castes, while the lower classes of aborigienes, under the general name of Paháriás, or hill men, were even still more depressed in the social scale, so as by the orthodox Hindoos, of the more regular tribes, to be ultimately regarded as entirely unclean.

How far Budhism ever was the religion of the great mass of the people, in any part of the continent of India, it is now difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, but that at one time, during the first fervour of its adherents, it overran most of the country, appears to be certain. The very existence of Hinduism was endangered, and hence the virulence of the Brahmans against it, and hence also their charging its professors with absolute atheism; and the zeal with which all its records, and monuments have been either concealed, or destroyed. Some of the latter have, however, been permitted to remain, at Benares and other places; and though we cannot regard them as proving that Budhism was ever the religion of the whole population, yet they show, that at one time its influence must have been very great, so that if not the religion of all the inhabitants of the place, it had very likely been that of their rulers, as such monuments could not have, probably, been of private erection. The principal Budhistic remains in this neighbourhood, are some ruins of round towers, &c. apparently sepulchral monuments, at a place called Sárnáth about four miles from the city of Benares. One of these round towers is in a state of almost complete preservation,

while others are fallen into such a state of decay, as to appear only as round hills, or mounds, with mere fragments of the original buildings remaining. The one still in the best state of preservation, might be about 100 feet in height, and nearly as much in diamater. It is built of brick faced with hewn stones. The bricks of the outer parts of the building are burnt and of a very durable quality, like those usually found in the ruins of other ancient cities, while those of the centre—for the building is one solid mass, with no chambers in it—are merely sun dried, but from having been so long protected from rain, &c., they are quite hard. Out of the central parts of the tower, when it was excavated, many stone images were dug, some of which are above the common size of men. Many of these have been defaced, and carried away, but not a few of the most complete specimens have been preserved by individuals, or by public bodies. They have a greater resemblance to some figures of the same kind brought from Egypt, than to the monuments of Hindoo art, but they do not seem to have been images of gods, but are more like statues in honour of the dead of both sexes, and of different ages.

The whole neighbourhood, where these have been found, is covered over with foundations of similar round towers, and other buildings, from some of which stone sarcophagi, images, and other relics, have been dug. For several miles the fields are full of carved, or hewn stones, and bricks, and also pottery of a very durable kind. There are also numerous mounds, some of them very large, composed of the rubbish of decayed buildings, showing the most evident traces, of the existence, at some former period, of a large city, though with the exception of these fragments, and a few scattered villages, the ground is now covered only with corn fields. Neither history nor tradition, however, gives any account, as far as I am aware, of the destruction at any given time, of the ancient, and rise of the modern, Benares. As the distance is not great, it seems rather probable, that the city has very gradually shifted its site, along the banks of the river, to the south-west, so that while the more ancient part of the city, has slowly declined, or that part

originally inhabited by the Budhists; new buildings have risen farther up the Ganges, in the part most inhabited by the Brahmans, till at last the more ancient city, has been left to moulder into ruins, till most of its more solid materials have been carried away, and its site, for the most part, has been turned into corn fields.

When the Muhammadans first took Benares, in the reign of Rája Banár, whose name is often erroneously supposed to have given its name to the modern city, (though it had this name long before he was born, and was known by it even as far as the Island of Ceylon, before Muhammadanism arose in Arabia) the citadel of Benares, to which they laid siege, was situated on the north-eastern extremity of what now constitutes the city, and is still known by the name of the old fort. This was very likely, at that time, in the centre of the city. The great masses of ruins still visible, consisting of mounds of decayed foundations, and partially decomposed building materials, with here and there pieces of solid masonry, covered over with the debris of ruined edifices, more or less ancient, clearly prove that there must here have stood, probably for many ages, a large and closely compacted city, with all its necessary public buildings and fortifications; for many of the remaining foundations, are too massy, to have been those of private dwellings.

The small river Barna, alone, divides this part of modern Benares, from the nearer portion of the ruins of the more ancient city at Sárnáth. This renders it more probable that the population moved gradually from the one to the other, attracted, in part, by the superior convenience of the present site on the immediate bank of the Ganges, than that the one city had first declined, or altogether perished, and then that another had arisen, entirely independent of it, within only a few miles. History is indeed silent with respect to any great change of site—though tradition represents Benares, as having been first built of gold—but afterwards rebuilt several times, in the different ages of the world, with materials still growing worse and worse, as sin has increased. The decline of the Budhists, was probably attended with the decline of

their part of the city, and the ruin of their public edifices. This, combined with the natural desire to build farther up the river, would seem sufficient to account for the change of position which has taken place, during the last two thousand years, that most probably have elapsed, since Budhism was the dominant, though not the only, religion at Benares.

Ancient Benares, is claimed both by the Budhists and the Brahmans, as one of the chief sacred places from which their respective systems of religion emanated, and either the birth-place or residence of their greatest sages, and at times, even of the gods themselves. Both their claims are likely, as far as the origin of many of their doctrines is concerned, to be well founded, for all tradition points to this city, as closely connected with the rise, and propagation, of the dogmas of both these celebrated systems of philosophic paganism. Both these claims may also very easily be admitted, and in some measure explained, by the principle which we have here maintained, that these two religions, however much they may now differ, were originally not entirely distinct. In the architectural ruins at Sárnáth, both the buildings and the images are Budhistic, but not so exclusively so, as to present no emblems of Brahmanism. This fact is in perfect accordance, with what has already been noticed, that the last incarnation of Budha himself, was a Brahman, born at Benares; and the very fact that he was a Brahman, sufficiently proves, that whatever may have been the date of that ancient event, Brahmanical Hinduism, and the distinction of caste, according to the Budhist annals, already existed at Benares, when Budhism was first promulgated there, and when its divine sage, went from there to preach it to the other nations of India. The three last incarnations, according to the Budhists themselves, having been Brahmans, and the last of all, Kasyap Budha, especially, being a Benares Brahman, shows very naturally, in connexion with a great many other traditions, that Budhism, was, as the Brahmans represent it, a heresy which sprung up among themselves, and was, to a large extent, propagated at its outset, by members of their own body, among whom was its founder, whom

with great inconsistency, they admit among their incarnations of Vishnu. The Brahmans were, therefore, themselves the founders of Budhism, or, at least, among the first propagators of its doctrines. These doctrines were, no doubt, regarded by their brethren, as entirely contrary to those usually received by their fraternity; and ultimately caused a complete separation of the sects, and gave rise to wars and persecutions. In the fourth century before the Christian era, however, this great hostility between the sects would not appear to have broken out, and the Budhists of Benares, and the neighbouring province of Bahár, would seem to have been, many of them, Brahmans, though, like many of the modern sects of Hindoo devotees, they to a certain extent broke through the rules of caste, and associated with other tribes; and were, some of them, among the principal agents in spreading the doctrines of the Budhist creed, over the countries around.

But, however extensive at one time, may have been the influence of Budhism, at Benares, and however early, it may have been established there, it does not appear ever to have had the exclusive possession of the field, for all Hindoo writings and traditions, about the place, speak of it, as in early times, having been famed as the residence of purely orthodox Brahmans, of the highest reputation. This may indeed be in part the effect of the cunning policy of the Brahmans themselves, who have always been very ready to draw the veil of oblivion over the early disputes by which their body was distracted, or their authority called in question. Whatever may be the date of many of the Hindoo Shasters, as to their mere composition, and there is no doubt but it is much more modern than the Brahmans are willing to allow, there is little doubt but they refer to traditions of undoubted antiquity. Nearly all of these books refer to Benares, or Káshi, as the abode of Brahmans, devotees, or holy sages, by some of whom several of the Shasters were first uttered, as well as of some of the gods themselves, at a period, no doubt, long prior to the appearance of the present Puránas, or more recent mythological poems, regarded by the Hindoos as of divine origin, though possessed of by no means equal authority with the

more ancient books, especially the Vedas. Instead, therefore, of thinking that Hinduism did not obtain a footing at Benares till Budhism declined, we are disposed to conclude, that there may have been a considerable period, during which, in one form or another, the two systems existed together; the Budhists having, for a time, the ascendency, on their losing of which, their part of the city, (for it is very common for different religionists in India to occupy separate divisions of the same town) gradually declined, while that inhabited by the Hindoos, on the site of the present Benares, or a little to the north-east of it, enjoying the patronage of the Rájas of Káshi, so often refered to in the Hindoo Shasters as Hindoos, gradually rose to distinction as a sacred city. When Budhism was in the ascendant, and the Rájas of Káshi were most probably of that religion, the Brahmans were, no doubt, in a very depressed state, and at this period it is rather probable, the foundation of the present Benares may have been laid. The Brahmans themselves say that, the ground on which Benares now stands, was then a mere wood, or jungle, while the ancient city was some miles distant. In this jungle, on the bank of the Ganges, a number of holy Brahman ascetics lived, and practised their devotions. By them, they say, temples on a very small scale were erected, bearing the same names, and occupying the same sites, as the principal temples of Benares still retain. The fame of these Brahmans, for piety and learning, spread into all the countries of India, till other Brahmans, and even princes, sent their sons to receive the advantage of their instructions. Their humble cells, or rather huts, became surrounded by, or were changed for, more substantial buildings. The Temples were rebuilt in a more pretending style, bazárs were formed, and at last a city of great extent arose, which from the peculiarity of having, in a period so ancient, derived its very origin from religion, has retained a sacred character to the present day; while the Budhists venerate the neighbouring ruins of Sárnáth, or the more ancient Káshi, as hallowed by the early traditions of their faith, as the birth-place of Budha, and the spot where their religion, in its present dispensation, was first proclaimed upon earth.

The whole place, from being regarded, by the Hindoos, more espacially, as the early abode, of holy sages, and even as the spot where the gods themselves have often appeared, and even resided in ancient times, when their intercourse with men was more frequent and familiar, became, in the course of ages, an object of very great veneration. The Gunga, every where holy, began to be looked on as most holy at Káshi, around which, for a circuit of ten miles the whole ground was declared by the Brahmans to be sacred; and pilgrimages from all parts of India were undertaken to it, by all castes and ranks of men; with the fullest confidence of obtaining salvation, as the result of bathing in its waters and worshipping at at its shrines. I see no reason to reject this account of the origin of that veneration in which Benares is held, both by the Hindoos, and the Budhists. It is quite in accordance with what is usual among other superstitious nations, and is extremely natural in itself. A spot supposed to have been the birth-place of several of the incarnations of the Budhist deity, and also to have been, in the most ancient times, the chosen residence of the gods, and most holy sages of Hinduism, could not fail to be regarded with peculiar veneration, by the votaries of both these celebrated, and wide spread, forms of superstition.

On the final and absolute split between the Brahmans and the Budhists, the former obtained the complete ascendency in all the provinces of northern India, and though the Jains, a small sect holding Budhist doctrines, have still some temples at several places in these provinces, as well as in the city of Benares, and among the ruins of Sárnáth, their numbers are small, and their religion much despised. The Jains still look with reverence on the ruins of Sárnáth, as monuments of the ancient glory of their religion. Not many years ago they erected a handsome temple, more in the style of an European church, than those of the Hindoos usually are. The funds for this work, I have been informed, were provided by a wealthy member of the sect. The carving of the stone work, and the painting of the roof and walls, as well as the marble images of Budha, &c., are much admired.

The Brahmans do not seem now to look with much jealousy on these Budhist sectaries, in this attempt to revive the honour of their ancient religion on this spot, rendered, in their esteem, peculiarly sacred, by having been the birth-place or residence of the great Budha himself, during his last incarnation on earth, and honoured at different times by the presence of Gautama, and the great sages by whom their religion was taught to the nations of the world. These venerable ruins are interesting, as they recall to the mind important movements, of great influence in the religious history of a great portion of the human race, at a period when not improbably Babylon and Tyre, Persepolis and Ecbatana, were still in their glory, and the temple of Jerusalem was still standing on mount Zion, and when Rome was yet but a village of little note on the banks of the Tiber. The names of the builders are lost in the mists of antiquity; with the exception of the mere "transient mention of a dubious name"—such as that of Dharmasoka king of Magadh, and Kissu king of Benares, who, long before the Christian era, were the patrons and propagators of a system of religion, which still covers a large portion of the eastern world—the annals of that period are lost, or but little known. These solid erections, which they, doubtless, imagined would convey their names and their fame down to the latest ages, have nearly mouldered away, and their dates, as well as the objects for which they were at first designed, are the subjects of learned, but often of fruitless, antiquarian research.

CHAPTER XVII.

HINDOO DEVOTEE SECTS.—BAIRAGEES, GOSAINS, JOGEES, SANYASEES, &c., &c.—THUGS.—BRAHMANICAL PRETENSIONS TO WORK MIRACLES, &c.

Among the multitudes who frequent Benares as pilgrims, there are many who profess to be entirely devoted to religious pursuits, and who live by the alms, either in food or in money, which they receive from the people. According to the sentiments expressed in many of the Hindoo books, a life spent in this way, is more virtuous and holy, than one spent in the discharge of secular duties; and, consequently, great numbers of men, especially of the class disposed to an idle and vagrant life, join the different fraternities of devotees, and wander about the country, frequenting, especially, such places of public resort as Benares. They are generally called Faqeers; but this name, properly speaking, is used only by the Muhammadans, and is applicable, both to religious, and common mendicants. But whether religious, or otherwise, they all beg in the name of God; and everywhere one's ears are stunned in the city, by their voices shouting aloud, "Give something in the name of God to this Faqeer, and God will bless you!" "May your hat be always firm on your head!" "May you live from age to age, and all your children be for ever prosperous!" "May your lamp never cease to burn!" "May your house be always inhabited!"

The terms used, by the Hindoos, to designate these religious mendicant orders are quite different, however, from those employed by the Muhammadans, and also from those applied to common beggars. A general name, given to them by the Hindoos, is Sâdhu, or Sâdh, viz: holy men. They are also sometimes called Sant, a Sanscrit word of the same meaning, and no doubt, from the same root, as the Sanctus of the Latin, and the Saint of the English. They are however, more commonly distinguished, by the name of the different sects, or fra-

ternities, to which they belong, as Bairági Gosáin. Jogee, Sanyási, Nágá, Banbási &c., &c., names expressive of the doctrines which they profess to hold, or peculiar rites, and austerities, which they practise. There are many subdivisions of these orders, and a great many sects entirely distinct, which our limits oblige us to overlook in this short sketch. A volume, not without considerable interest to the student of human nature, might be written on the sentiments and disipline of the Hindoo devotee sects. All that we here profess to give, is merely a slight notice of some of those religious orders, with whom we had to come daily into contact, especially at Benares.

The three orders above mentioned, are the most numerous, especially the Bairágees and Gosáins. The Bairágees profess to practise great austerities, self denial, and severe penances, in order to restrain or annihilate their natural passions and appetites. The body, it is supposed, is the seat, and cause of all sin. To suppress, therefore, or destroy the action of the bodily organs, is regarded as the best way of acquiring final emancipation from evil, and in fact from bodily sensation, which is inseparably connected with sin, or with the radical evils classed generally by the Hindoos as "lust, wrath, avarice, facination, and intoxication." By reducing the organs of sense to complete quiescence, the soul gradually escapes from the influence of external things, and reaches a purely intellectual state of existence, in which it is not conscious of bodily pains, or of pleasures, or even of an external world, cognizable by the senses. In this world man is subject to maya or illusion. His senses give him no true information, but only deceive and bewilder him. What he supposes that he sees, hears or feels, are mere fancies of his own imagination, but by the practice of devotion and austerities, the power of this sensual illusion is destroyed, and he awakes to a new intellectual existence, uncontrolled by his senses, and free from their darkening and deceptive influence. He thus attains the state of "*Birág*"—"*without passions.*"—which the Bairági does not always pretend to have actually reached, but which is that state, to which he aspires, and from which he derives his appellation. Hence the Bairágee,

whatever, at times, may be the inconsistency of his practice, professes to seek the subjugation of his bodily organs, by exposing his body to the hardships of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, and other tortures of various kinds. I have seen some of them pinch their flesh with iron pincers, which they carry for the purpose, and cut themselves with knives, till the blood streamed over their whole bodies. I have seen them also suspend themselves, or rather allow themselves to be suspended, from the branches of trees, with their heads downwards, while some of their companions have swung them backwards and forwards over a slow fire. Many even of the most difficult of these austerities, are no doubt, practised merely to obtain a name for devotion among the people, or for their liberal pecuniary support, which is generally lavishly bestowed on men of great reputation for sanctity, but from what I know of them, I have no doubt, but many of them are fanatical believers in the virtue of such practices.

Most of the Bairágees, go almost in a state of nudity, having merely a very small piece of cloth passed through between their legs, and fixed at each end to a rope, or sometimes to an iron chain, worn as a girdle round their loins. Their hair is left to grow to any length it may, and is allowed to hang filthy and matted together, over their shoulders, so as occasionally almost to reach their limbs; but sometimes it is plaited and twisted round the head like a turban. Their faces are generally streaked with yellow paint, and as well as their whole bodies, are besmeared over with cow dung ashes, which are regarded as peculiarly holy. A number of them seated round a fire in the fields, in a dark night, their gaunt and hideous naked figures, and long matted hair reflected dimly through the smoke, as they are engaged in cooking their supper, presents to the mind the idea of a company of fiends stirring up the fires of Tophet. Did one not know something of them before, he would scarcely take them for a company of human beings.

As to any actual practice, by the greater part of the Bairágees, of any great self denial, apart from the mere as-

sumption of the degrading and apparently penitential costume, and wandering habits of the order, there is generally, very little evidence; as from the fatness and plumpness of their bodies, it is pretty clear, that, many of them spend more time in feasting, than in fasting; some of them, however, have a very emaciated appearance; and others, from the strong religious feelings of which they appear at times to be susceptible, may, very probably, be quite sincere in regarding their course of life as really leading to future blessedness. As they are a superstitious and imaginative people, there is much in the general mysticism of the system, to interest, and at the same time, to bewilder their minds. I have often noticed, that among the Bairágees, and other religious orders of devotees, there are many individuals, whose intellects would seem to be in some measure deranged, or subject to a sort of monomania. Madmen, or at least persons of a somewhat unsound mind, whose imagination is much greater than their judgment, are the best fanatical devotees in all systems of superstition; especially where doctrines of a mysterious, or rather mystical character, form the basis of the received creed. Their imaginations, enable them easily to dispense with all ordinary reasoning, and furnish them at once with an ideal world, in which they may live and speculate, far beyond the influence of the present state of things, and utterly independent of its stern realities. The various hallucinations, and wild, dreamy speculations of their sometimes powerful, but misconstructed minds, often seem to their superstitious countrymen to be the dictates of inspiration, either from the gods or the demons. They "dream dreams and see visions;" and as they themselves often believe them to be supernatural, they relate them with all the earnestness of truth; and they are generally received as such by the people, whose credulous minds are overawed by the mysterious pretensions of men, whose whole lives seem to be so far removed from the common secularities of life, and who appear to have, as they often profess, some strange, and familiar intercourse with the unseen world.

There can be no doubt, however, but the main body of the

Bairágees, as well as of other religious ascetic orders, in India, is chiefly composed of lazy rascals, who will not work, and are not ashamed to beg. Begging, however, with the mere complaint of poverty, is not, in general, a very profitable employment for able bodied men, and they find it necessary to have some other pretence than actual want, and that of being holy men, who have abandoned all earthly pursuits, in order to give themselves up entirely to devotion, they find to be a plea, both convenient and profitable. The blessing of such holy men is supposed, by the ignorant people, to be of great value, and their curse to be the certain cause of great misfortunes, especially, if, as is often the case, in addition to being devotees, they are also Brahmans. These devotee sects are composed of men of various castes; the ordinary rules of caste being superseded by the common bond of union among them, as members of a religious fraternity. The Bairágees, are, perhaps, the most numerous of these orders of devotees, and are always to be seen in great numbers, about the ghâts and temples of Benares, and other sacred places of public resort. They often traverse the country, either singly, or in parties, sometimes of eight or ten, and are blamed for not unfrequently extorting money, or food, from the villagers; on whom they enforce their demands, not merely by promising blessings, or threatening curses, but even by the more powerful arguments of club law. This, of course, they rarely attempt when near magisterial authority, but they are said to be very overbearing in the more remote parts of the country, in consequence of which, the people stand in great dread of their visits, though they are always ready to flatter them, and as far as possible to conciliate their favour. The same may be said even of the common Brahmans, who, in country places, are often accused of great tyranny over the common people; of the means of which, in the larger towns, and in the vicinity of the British authorities, they are entirely deprived.

Next to the Bairágees, may be ranked the Gosáins. This fraternity is perhaps more numerous at Benares, and in the surrounding districts than any of the others, though it may not

probably be so extensively diffused over the country in general, as that of the Bairágees. There are no means, however, of obtaining certainty as it respects the relative numbers of any of these sects. The Gosáins are not so entirely separated from secular affairs, as most of the other religious orders. Their general sentiments have been considered as having a strong resemblance to Budhism, and their discipline would seem to be somewhat of the same nature; and before the great split between the Budhists and Brahmans, the former were, probably, a sect of somewhat the same character as the modern Gosáins. The Gosáins are, in general, distinguished by the colour of their clothes, which is a sort of saffron. A small triangular flag of the same colour, generally fixed to the end of a bamboo, is also placed over their temples and monastries, (for they have houses of resort which may be so called) and sometimes on their private houses, and likewise over the stations where any one of them usually sits, or performs his devotions. These stations are, generally, small huts, or sheds at the foot of some Peepul tree. At one of these, a devotee sits, often engaged professedly in devotion, or absorbed in meditation; but sometimes engaged in reading or teaching the doctrines of the sect. He obtains his subsistence in alms from the people. Many of them have their stations by wells, under the shade of trees by the sides of roads, or thoroughfares, where they draw water and give to thirsty travellers. This is very naturally regarded, in a hot country, as an act of virtue, especially as the wells are often dug by the devotees themselves, or at least at their own expense, or that of their admirers. In this way some of them render themselves very useful, and are often much respected by the people, many of whom give them small gratuities as they pass. Many of the Gosáins, however, travel the country in the same manner as the Bairágees, and may be said to be among the principal instructors of the common people, in the doctrines, mythology, and rites of Hinduism. They are also the principal missionaries by whom Hinduism has been, and

still is being, propagated in the extensive hilly regions of northern and central India, inhabited by the rude aboriginal tribes. For, though in all those parts where Hinduism has been long established, it has gradually assumed the form of a system of hereditary castes, into which no one of another race can be admitted as a proselyte, however much he may conform to its doctrines or usages; the system is much more plastic in those districts, in which it is a new religion. It requires merely that the Brahman caste, be imported with some degree of purity, (and in some districts even this has only been partially attended to), and then the other common Hindoo castes, are easily, and gradually formed out of the existing, or aboriginal tribes, or families of the district; and thus, in the course of a few generations, they became entirely Hinduized, so as not to be very easily distinguished from those castes, that are descended from the more ancient and true Hindoo stock. The Brahmans, in general, take care to preserve a considerable degree of purity of blood, in their own tribe, lest their priestly lineage being vitiated, their apostolic descent from the primeval Rishis or patriarchal sages, should be questioned, and their sanctity and authority, in consequence be depreciated; but where their system is new, they can manufacture Sudra castes out of any materials that may exist among their new disciples.

Many of the Gosáins are Brahmans, and are therefore looked upon as doubly sacred. The doctrines professed by them are a species of Pantheism, having some points of considerable resemblance to that of the Budhists. The word *Gosáin*, by which the sect is known, is used as a common name of God, and its application to themselves is expressive of the doctrine held by them—that the human soul, or, as they express it, "that which speaks," or thinks, *is God*. To the question, What is God? the common answer is, "This that speaks is God." Speech, or the faculty of speech, or reason, like the Logos of the Greeks, is the only recognizable attribute of deity. The human soul, of which speech, or reason, is the prerogative, is therefore God. To the question, "Did you make the

sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth?" I have often heard them answer, "Yes." It is necessary to remark, however, that by this they do not mean that each individual man is possessed of the divine attributes, but that each living being is an integral portion of that, which, in the aggregate, constitutes the deity. In common with the Budhists, they believe that the Divine Being is not separate from, but is himself the universe, so that all its constituent parts are but parts of himself. The different deities, therefore, who, at certain times, have become incarnate on earth, as well as men, and other creatures, are merely portions of the same essential Godhead. They may be superior, or inferior, in power, but all are limited in their nature and faculties, and may rule over or restrain each other in various ways; for even men may, by exalted devotion, acquire an influence over the gods to which they are obliged to submit, however reluctantly. The doctrine of maya, or illusion, held by the other Hindoo sects, is also professed by the Gosáins, and is, in fact, almost indispensable to every form of Pantheism. If we are all portions of the deity, it would seem natural that we should all be conscious of being so, which we know we are not. But to solve this difficulty, the doctrine of illusion comes in very opportunely. According to this doctrine, gods and men are unconscious of what they really are, till, by an elevated and abstract devotion, they break through the illusions of the senses, and escape entirely from all the blinding influences of the passions, and thus rise to that state of supreme beatitude, in which they will have no consciousness of existence, apart from the divine essence. A consciousness of separate existence is, therefore, an illusion—all that is apart from God is only *apparent existence*, which, like a mere phantasmagoria, shall soon pass away. The whole universe is but one great illusion, by which gods and men are deceived and bewildered.

> "But like an airy pageant vanishing,
> The cloud capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, yea, this great globe itself,

And all that it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a rack behind.—"

Even the gods themselves, as well as the universe which they have *apparently* formed, and ruled, are destined to sink into unconsciousness of separate being, and to be swallowed up and lost in that inconceivable and boundless essence, from which they all originally were evolved. As the waters of the Gunga flow to the sea and are lost in its briny waves, so the mighty and ever moving stream of this living universe, rolls along into the great ocean of the divine, and incomprehensible essence, till the whole system shall be absorbed in deity, and he alone exist in a state of pure intellectual being —or *nirgun*—that is, an essence, without any conceivable, or describable attributes.

Those of the Gosáins who travel over the country, generally live, in some measure, by the practice of music. They often act the part of bards, like those of the Celtic and other western nations, and like them sometimes make pretensions, to a species of inspiration, or supernatural power; or at least to a peculiar poetical energy, acquired by the devout utterance of certain invocations. Though they often travel singly, they also very frequently go in parties, of five or six, carrying with them musical instruments, on which they play generally very simple airs; while they accompany them with their voices—in hymns in honour of the Hindoo gods. Many of the airs are very beautiful, and the verses, though generally in a style of language, which few Europeans can fully understand, are often very fine specimens of lyric poetry, a species of composition, in which the poets of India, have perhaps, scarcely been surpassed by those of any other nation; though from the very nature of such poetry, and the peculiarity of Indian habits and feelings, it is utterly impossible that it can ever be translated into the languages of Europe, without its spirit being completely lost. A learned European writer, well acquainted with the poetry of all the most celebrated nations, both of Europe and Asia, remarks, that "in the tenderness of amatory feeling, in the description of female beauty,

of the character and domestic relations of woman, the Indian poetry may be compared to the purest and noblest effusions of Christian poesy." This praise is, I am convinced, not too high, when applied to many of the specimens of the Hindoo lyrics usually sung by the Gosáins, though it must be allowed, that many of them are spoiled by constant references to doctrines of a very mystical nature, and of a more than doubtful moral tendency.

Many of the pieces sung by them, are also illustrative of their own peculiar doctrines, and are often in the form of legends, of celebrated Hindoo saints. They are often sung in passing along the streets, or in places of public resort in the towns, and also at the melas, or public assemblies, held generally, for both religious and commercial purposes. Not merely common hymns, or lyrics, but even the long mythological epic poems are sung, or chaunted, in the same way, especially at the great annual assemblies at Hardwár, Benares, Allahabad, &c. The Ramáyan, a fine Epic poem, which records the exploits of their favourite deity, Rám Chander, is often recited, or sung, in this way; and also during a festival called the Rám Leela, it is usually acted as a drama. On one occasion I saw a Gosáin, by no means a contemptible performer, sing, as I understood, the whole of the Ramáyan. It took him about ten days singing, or rather chaunting, in a very pleasing style, to go over this large epic poem, but he had a good, and apparently delighted audience all the time; for though I did not stay to hear very much of it, at once, I had occasion to pass him almost every day during his performance, and to hear it in part. There was something very interesting, and almost inspired like, in his appearance, as turning up his eyes like one quite abstracted from all around him, he struck his small instrument, a sort of guitar, sometimes varying the tune to suit his subject, from the tumultuous battle scenes, to the soft and plaintive lamentations of the captive Seeta, and the grief of Rám, over his beautiful, but lost bride—and then varying the notes to suit the descriptions of scenery, strange adventures, and deeds of daring, till they gradually rise to the triumphs of victory, when the monster Ráwan is slain, and the chaste Seeta is rescued, and

her spotless purity of character, publicly vindicated, by her successful passage through the fiery ordeal. Hinduism is the religon of reminiscence, Christianity is the religion of hope. Directed, as our minds constantly are, to the future, it is impossible for us to realize the intensity with which the Hindoo mind dwells on the past; and the difficulty of withdrawing the Indian mind, from a mysterious and poetical, but at the same time an apparently, wise antiquity, to fix it not merely on the present, and practicable, but on the future, promised, and possible regeneration, not merely of individuals, but of the race; no doubt, constitutes the grand external obstacle to the Christianization of India.

The larger poems recited in this way are almost exclusively mythological, referring chiefly to the victories of the gods over the demons, or that great struggle of good and evil principles in the primitive world, more or less dimly shadowed forth in the early mythologies of all great heathen nations. Many of them, however, relate merely to events in the ancient history of Hindustan, and to the various, but often conflicting dynasties that ruled over its different kingdoms or provinces, before its soil was cursed by the tread of the Moslem. So many episodes and passages of various kinds are, however, interspersed, in which the most difficult abstract theological and philosophical doctrines are discussed, for the most part, in dialogues, which are introduced as having passed between the most celebrated sages and heroes of antiquity, that those poems became the principal vehicle through which all the dogmas and rules of the Hindoo religion, as well as its metaphysical subtleties, are taught, and that in an attractive manner, to the masses of the people. Hence it is, that in, perhaps, no other part of the world are the common people more inclined to abstract doctrines than in India. While almost every thing received by them in the shape of religious instruction, is mixed up with the grossest fables, and clothed in a dress which is at the same time both metaphysical and poetical, there runs through the whole such a vein of abstract reasoning, combined with the most bewildering and transcendental speculations, about the divine essence and modes of existence—

pantheistic quibbles, and paradoxes, about the nature of this universe of living beings, whether animal or vegetable, visible or invisible, superior or inferior, material or spiritual—as well respecting its origin and destiny, as its present state and aspect, that the Hindoo mind, more than that of any other people, is inclined to what is both intangible and incomprehensible by man. The mysteries of the invisible world, assume a presence and reality to the mind of the true Hindoo, which, with all our advantages of divine revelation, they rarely do to us.

It has often been regarded as matter of surprise, that a people so shrewd, and sometimes even profound in their reasonings, and possessed of so many abstract notions, should, in general, follow modes of worship, so gross and earthly, as those usually practised in India; but a consideration of the pantheistic basis of the whole system, which easily admits of the deification, of any or every object, or phenomenon, without any one deity being regarded as supreme, will at once remove much of our surprise, for if, as is maintained, by almost every Hindoo sect, the supreme essence is itself entirely inactive, but that all living active existences, are merely portions of that essence individualized for a time, there can be no inconsistency in venerating a comprehensible part, instead of the incomprehensible whole; nor does the worship of any number of superior beings—all emanations from the same inconceivable essence—exclude the idea of the existence and supremacy of the essential deity, himself the substance or basis of all existence; and if all existences are merely parts of the Supreme, the honour paid by one being to another is merely one form of that regard, which Deity has to its own manifestations. The Hindoo almost always defends his worship of the various gods, on the ground that they are parts of the Supreme Being, who, in his essential nature, is a pure Hypostasis—which cannot be an object of any definite conception, or knowledge, and, therefore cannot be an object of worship—but in worshipping a part, we acknowledge the whole. All that exists, or is conceivable is God, and, therefore, worship what we may, we can only worship

God; and though it may seem to us, that this doctrine strikes at the root of all worship, as we might just as well worship ourselves as any thing else, the Gosáins, and many others, do not shrink from this consequence, but often speak of their own souls, as the only deity to whom they address their worship. Others maintain that external worship is only a contrivance of the ignorant, and fit only for such; while the truly wise, those possessed of Gyán—or, as the Greeks called it, gnosis, (knowledge)—seek for beatitude in abstract meditation on the deity, not as manifested in nature, which is only an illusion of the senses, but in his essential character as the eternal *Self-existent.*

Unlike most of the other religious orders, the Gosáins do not, as a body, entirely abandon secular affairs, though a great many of them do so. On the contrary, though they all wear, in part at least, the usual costume of the sect, many of them hold landed property, or cultivate the soil, while, perhaps, a still greater number is engaged in commercial pursuits. By no means an inconsiderable part of the trade of the Ganges is in their hands. At Mirzapur and other commercial cities, some of them carry on mercantile operations on rather an extensive scale, and not a few of them have amassed large fortunes. They are owners of vessels of every sort, used on the river, in which they export a great deal of the produce of the upper provinces to Bengal, either for local consumption, or for shipment to Europe, and in return, bring up the river either English manufactures, or the productions of the more tropical districts of Bengal and the coast; which they disperse over the country. These secular Gosáins, are never considered so holy as those who live on alms, and devote themselves entirely to religion; but they are more useful, and probably, in general, a better class of men. Many of the more sacred members of the fraternity, I have always understood, receive considerable advantage from the industry of these lay brethren, and though there is not among them any community of goods, the itinerant Gosáins are very often fed and lodged, at the expense of those who engage in secular business. Both in their doctrine and manners, as well as in the sacred colour of their dress

—a sort of saffron—and in other particulars, the Gosáins bear no small resemblance to the Budhist sects; and I am inclined to think that a full investigation of their sentiments, and history, might shew, that though they acknowledge, generally, the common mythology of the country, they form, in reality, a sort of connecting link between Hinduism and Budhism. There are several branch sects of Gosáins, among whom the peculiarities of their general doctrines, are more or less modified, or differently developed.

The third class of devotees, to which we have referred, is the Yogees, or as the word is usually pronounced, Jogees. This class is not so numerous, as that either of the Bairágees or Gosáins, nor has it apparently, like them, such an organization, or an influence among the people. The word *jog*, or *yog*,—junction—refers to a mode of abstract devotion, by the practise and endurance of some austerities and mysterious rites, through which the human soul acquires superhuman powers, and becomes disentangled from the body, and joined to God. The Jogees, therefore, profess to practise, many kinds of austerities, as well as mysterious rites and ceremonies, which, for the most part, ought to be gone through, not in towns or cities, but in remote and gloomy desert places. This rule, however, is not always attended to, and many of them are constantly to be seen in the city of Benares, and other places of public resort. Their dress and appearance, are generally very fantastic. Their hair is usually twisted, and plaited in various ways, their bodies rubbed over with cow dung ashes, and streaked with paint of various colours, but chiefly red and yellow, with their heads, &c. decked with party coloured rags and feathers. They carry in one hand a dried gourd shell, or sometimes a human skull, in which they receive their food; and in the other they usually have a large stick, to be used, no doubt, as occasion may require, to stimulate liberality, if not charitable feelings, in the minds of the niggardly.

The practice of Jog, is, sometimes, the result of a vow made by a person, who supposes that he has committed some great sin, in the same way as in Roman Catholic countries, men whose consciences are burdened by some crime, have made vows to lead a monastic

life. There can be little doubt, however, that not a few of the Jogees are very great villains, who wish to conceal a life of wickedness under a religious garb. If the popular stories respecting them have any foundation in fact,—and that they express the general opinion, for which there is always some reason—is certain; there is no species of crime, not even excepting that of cannibalism, of which some of the Jogees have not been found guilty; and no description of devilish arts, which they either do not practise, or pretend to, in order to work on the superstitious terrors of the people. Most of the popular stories about them, however, have too much in them of the marvellous to be true; but the crimes of which many of them have been publicly convicted, in courts of law, are sufficient to prove that, in general, they are exceedingly depraved. But in consequence of the dreaded influence of the supernatural powers, which they are, by the common people at least, believed to possess, and the diabolical, or magical arts, which they are supposed to practise, they obtain very great impunity in crime, as few have the courage to accuse them, or to bear witness against them before the magistrates, whether European or native. Even the native magistrates and the police, being generally Hindoos, have too many superstitious fears, to be very active in catching wretches, whom they believe, either to be in league with the devil, or to have power over all the demons of darkness.

There is more mystery connected with this class of devotees than with almost any other, and, therefore any thing like authentic information respecting their practices, is not easily found. If so bad as they are sometimes represented to be, their secret rites are not likely to be often revealed; and the compact among wicked wretches conscious of being guilty of shameful practices, is not likely to be rashly infringed. "Devil with devil damned, firm concord holds." After all, they may not be so bad, as the superstitious imaginations of the people represent them to be; but that they affect secrecy, have mysterious symbols, and pretend to have intercourse with evil spirits &c., there can be no doubt; and that some of them are men

of very imaginative, and even deranged intellects, who may actually believe in some of the mysteries which they profess, is very far from improbable.

From the general accounts that I have received, those who are initiated into this order, have to pass through some mysterious ordeal, and to receive in a secret manner, some watch-word, or symbol, never to be communicated to others, and not even very intelligible to themselves. One of the modes of initiation, mentioned to me, is as follows, though, from the nature of the case, it is obvious that I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my information, any more than one who has never been initiated to the mysteries of free masonry, can pretend to describe the secrets of that, somewhat heathenish looking fraternity.

The person wishing to be received into the Brotherhood, is taken into a jungle, or waste place, the haunt of tigers, bears, hyenas, jackals, and other wild beasts and reptiles. There he is placed, in the middle of a circle, formed of human skulls, and bones. A small charcoal fire is lighted before him, on which is placed a Lota, or small brazen vessel, and into this a number of mysterious looking ingredients is put, in order to form a sort of charm. A small stick is placed in his hand, with which he is ordered to keep stirring the ingredients in the vessel, keeping both his eyes and his mind fixed on it, without paying any attention to the howling of the wild beasts, or any other sights, or sounds around him. If he perseveres in this, or some similar process, with a fixed mind, not allowing his meditations to be disturbed, either by bodily suffering, or by the sights, or sounds of horror around him—the secret symbols, which he wishes, will be in some mysterious way communicated to him, before the morning, and he will be endowed with supernatural powers. One of the most common of these powers is said to be that of assuming different forms at pleasure, or of passing at will, from his own body, into any defunct body, which, for any purpose, he may choose to occupy, at least for a time. Jogees are, therefore, generally supposed to have much intercourse with

evil spirits; and in order to accomplish their purposes, whatever these may be (and they are seldom represented as good) to be capable of assuming, at pleasure, the forms either of men or of animals, and sometimes even of demons. They are even spoken of as sometimes devouring the putrid bodies of the dead; and in many of the current stories of the country, the Jognees, especially, or female Jogees, are represented as holding their orgies in burying grounds, and feasting on human carcasses, dug from the graves, (like the ghúls of the Muhammadans) in the congenial society of a sort of witches, called Kalkanees. They are also supposed, at times, to co-habit with evil spirits, or demons of darkness, who meet them in the night at unholy places, such as the ghâts where the dead are burned, or under trees, where executed criminals are hung in chains. The progeny begotten in these unearthly embraces, are supposed to be of a mixed character, neither men nor demons, but beings somewhat like the Daergs, or Dwarfs, of the mythology of northern Europe.

The Jogees, probably, encourage, and even propagate these stories about themselves, in order to excite a mysterious terror in the minds of the common people, which they know very well how to turn to their own account. They are not indeed the only devotees who pretend to be in the possession of occult arts, but their pretensions, are more openly made, and more fully belived in, by the poople, than those of most of the other sects. There are strong reasons to believe that, some of them at least, are well acquainted with the practice of ventriloquism, and perhaps, with what is now called mesmerism, as well as other arts, especially those of juggelry—all more or less calculated to support their pretensions to supernatural power. It would be easy to fill a volume with stories of feats performed by them, supposed to be supernatural, and certainly by no means easy to explain; but among a people so credulous as the Hindoos, even the most respectable testimony, on such subjects, is too suspicious, to be received as of any real weight. Some European officers however, whose evidence seemed unimpeachable, a few years ago, asserted in writing, that they saw one of these devotees put him-

self voluntarily into some sort of swoon or syncope after giving directions what they were to do with him, and that in this state having been sewed into a bag, and then fixed into a box, he was buried in a tomb, and built over with solid brickwork. The door of the tomb was then built up, and sealed, and sentries placed, and after a whole month, he was again dug out of the vault. His mouth, as he previously directed, was forceably opened, his teeth having been clenched together, and a little milk being poured into it, though he had not had any food, drink, or air, for a month, he revived and sat up, and was able next day to mount a camel and set out on a journey, expressing himself in very indignant terms against the parties who had put him to the test, for not remunerating him more liberally for his trouble. I read only a few weeks ago, in an Indian paper, that the same devotee had repeated the same feat, at some other place, with equal success, but I have not seen any attempt at an explanation, of the mode in which it was accomplished.

It is not unusual in India, to hear of Jogees, as well as other devotees, being detected in acts of robbery. In some instances, however, these are not real members of the religious fraternities, but Thugs, and other miscreants, who have assumed the habit of devotees, or of pilgrims, when proceeding on their predatory journeys. Those robbers and assassins, known by the name of Thugs—a name signifying deceivers, the vigorous suppression of whose horrid associations in India, by the British authorities, a few years ago, excited so much interest—often assumed the disguise of Jogees, or other devotees, as very convenient for their nefarious objects. Their practice was often to travel in small parties, generally professing to be on pilgrimage to holy places, such as Benares, Gaya, Hardwár, &c. In the towns, villages, or serais, at which they lodged, it was their practice to make up with travellers going the same way, whom they enticed to accompany them, for the sake of society on the road. Appearing often as light hearted fellows, they would beguile the way with songs, &c., till reaching some secluded spot, previously agreed on by them, at a signal given by the leader of the gang, a noose, formed of a small cord, was instantaneously thrown

round the neck of each of their unconscious victims, and in a moment they were all strangled, not a drop of blood being shed to mark the spot where their death had taken place. Their bodies, after being riffled of every thing worth taking, were carefully buried in some secret spot, chosen for the purpose; the graves being sometimes even dug beforehand, by an advanced party of the assassins, to prevent delay, and the ground was afterwards smoothed over, so as to present no marks of a grave. The party then proceeded in quest of other victims, as if nothing had happened; or if there was any particular danger of the murdered parties being missed at the next town, they either changed the course of their journey, or suddenly dispersed in various directions, having made an appointment to meet again for another adventure, at some place where there was no danger of their being recognized. Having their confederates scattered about the country, they could easily obtain information respecting persons proceeding on journeys, and who were likely to carry with them either money or jewels; so that they were often well informed as to the exact value of the property in possession of their intended victims, and could easily lay their plans for joining them, or intercepting them, at any convenient point in the road. Pretending to be Jogees, or any other class of religious mendicants, gave them every facility for moving about through the country in any direction, without being suspected, and of freely introducing themselves to travellers of every description, as well as of finding out the destination and purpose of their journeys, or whether or not they had property about them, worth killing them for. So little did they regard human life, that some of them, on their trials, confessed to having murdered persons, when they actually knew that all they had on them, was not of more value than a sixpence. Whatever was the value of the booty, it was always a particular point with them, to murder every one whom they robbed, and that in such a way as to prevent all detection.

The late Rev. W. Bowley, a missionary of the church society at Chunár, some years ago told me the following circumstances, as related to him by one of his converts, and which he

said happened to himself before his conversion to Christianity. In early life he had been an officer in the army of the king of Oudhe, but after his baptism, he was for years a useful and consistent member of Mr. B's. native church. When he was a soldier, being once on a journey, he said he had occasion to stop a day at the town of Chunár, and having nothing to do, after strolling for sometime about the bazár, he went into a shop and sat down to rest himself. While there, one of these devotees came in, and joined in a conversation, which happened to be going on; and which some way or other, perhaps as cunningly directed by the Jogee, took a turn to the subject of black art, or supernatural powers, supposed to be possessed by numbers of his fraternity. Having a great deal of curiosity about this subject, the soldier expressed his desire of being made acquainted with its secrets, or to have its powers conferred upon himself. Here the matter dropped. After leaving the shop, however, the same devotee stepped up to him on the street, and whispered in his ear, that if he would meet him alone at a certain hour in the evening, after it was dark, on the sands below the fort, near the bank of the Ganges, he would communicate to him that mysterious knowledge, which he seemed so much to desire. The soldier readily accepted the offer, and they parted, promising to meet in the night, at the time, and place appointed. Late in the evening he accordingly went and met the devotee, who conducted him to a place at a considerable distance, where they were not likely to meet with any interruption, in the mysterious rites which he said must be performed. Having selected a place to his mind, he struck a light and kindled a small fire, on which he placed a little Lota, or brazen vessel, having cast into it some ingredients, like drugs of different kinds. He then gave the soldier a small stick into his hand, telling him to continue to stir the ingredients in the pot, looking intently into it all the time, without for an instant looking round, or allowing his mind to be diverted from it till the charm should be completed, and then the mysterious revelations, wished by him,

would be received. In the meantime, however, he said he must leave him alone for a little, but would soon return, when the magical rite would be perfected. So saying, he vanished in the surrounding darkness, leaving his dupe alone, who continued assiduously stirring the contents of the little pot, and anxiously and intently peering into its mouth, through the smoke and steam, expecting every moment to see some strange apparition arise to unfold to him the hellish secrets, that he so much wished to penetrate. Alone, however, in such a place, under such circumstances, at the dead of night, his nerves began to quiver and his suspicions to rise; but still as he had been assured, that looking round, or withdrawing his attention from his task, would spoil the whole ceremony, and be attended with awful danger to himself, he persevered in his efforts to fix his eyes and his mind, on the cookery in which he had engaged. At last, however, he heard something creeping stealthily behind him, and his patience at once gave way He instantly clapped his hand on his sword, and was in the act of springing up, when he felt the noose of the Thug thrown over his head; but he being in sudden motion at the time, it did not reach his throat, but was tightened round his face. Being a powerful man, and instantaneously roused to a state of great excitement, he broke loose at once, and with one stroke of his sword cut down his assailant, whom he had not even had time to see. On dragging the body, however, to the glimmering light of the small fire, he found it to be that of the pretended devotee, who had entrapped him by the promise of instructing him in the knowledge of occult arts. Being very much afraid that he might be arrested and tried for murder, he dug a hole in the sand and deposited the body, and leaving Chunár, as soon as possible, he proceeded on his journey, no doubt, somewhat cured of his love for magical arts. He kept the adventure secret, till a number of years afterwards, when he had been converted to Christianity, and returned to Chunár, where he related it to Mr. Bowley, by whom he was baptized.

The superstitious credulity of the people generally, gives great

facility to imposture of every kind, on the part of such pretenders to supernatural power, as the Jogees, and other ascetics, usually are. Women, as well as men, often profess to be in communication with spirits who are supposed to take full possession of them at certain times, and through them, to communicate information, about such matters as are thought to require for their discovery, the exercise of some supernatural power. On one occasion, at Benares, I saw a specimen of this sort of pretended divination. Some parties, it seemed, had wished to obtain information about stolen goods. An old woman from among these devotees, supposed to be skilled in occult arts, was brought out of the city, and seated in an open field, near my house in the suburbs. She was placed on the ground, and the parties, who wished to interrogate her, seated themselves around her. She then began to roll herself about in a curious manner, gradually becoming more and more violent in her action, but I was not near enough to hear if what she muttered was at all intelligible. At last, throwing herself quite into a paroxysm of excitement, she rolled on the ground, and seemed convulsed. In this state, they said, she told them where the stolen articles were to be found, but before she could be exorcised, or the demon, supposed to be speaking through her, made to take his departure, a kid, or goat, had to be presented. I have understood that, on such occasions, a fowl is sometimes used for the same purpose. How far this oracle turned out to be true, I had no means of ascertaining. The people, however, generally believe in the power of these old hags, to obtain from demons, or, as they are called, Bhúts, the knowledge of any secrets whatever. As oracles and ordeals of all kinds are fully believed in by the people, they are no doubt very easily deceived; and these expert practitioners of mysterious arts, are very successful in convincing them, that they are actually in possession of superhuman powers. Nor is even the most sceptical European always capable of detecting, or exposing, the roguery of some of their pretended, but ingeniously contrived miracles.

An English gentleman, an old friend of mine, who died at Benares some years ago, at an advanced age, after having lived in India for

more than fifty years, during the latter part of which he had become a sincere Christian, told me of an instance of professed divination, that occurred in his own house, and which puzzled him not a little, but of which he never could obtain any explanation. He was in the habit of spending some time every morning, in reading the scriptures, in a small room, to which none, but the servants who attended him, had access. One morning having left his gold spectacles on his desk, on his return they had disappeared, and after the most persevering search they could not be found. He was convinced that no one could have been there, but his own servants. These were all men, fifteen or sixteen in number, even the youngest of whom had been with him for many years. His spectacles were valuable to him, as he could not read without them, nor easily get another pair. He therefore, mustered all his servants and told them, that the nature of the case was such, that he was fully convinced that one of them must be the thief; and that unless they could find him out, and produce the missing spectacles, he should certainly take legal steps to have the whole of them arrested. They all, to a man, stoutly maintained their innocence. Some of them, however, insisted that to clear the character of the innocent and detect the thief, if he were amongst them, they should call in a Brahman, or devotee, skilled in the magical modes of discovering such secrets. They accordingly brought one of these men to the house, who proceeded to work at once, in the following manner. Having assembled the whole household in the hall, which was a very large room, my old friend himself being present to look on, he arranged all the servants on one side, with their backs to the wall, while he himself took his own station in the centre. He then set down a small brazen vessel in the middle of the room, repeating some short prayers, or charms. Then leaving the vessel, he declared, that if the thief were in the room, it would, of itself, move towards him. To the great astonishment of all, the vessel soon began to move, with no visible hand near it, and sliding apparently of its own accord, along the floor, went straight to one of the servants present. All parties protested that he must be the thief, and what is most singular, he confessed

that he was so, and produced, afterwards, the missing spectacles. My good old friend was no believer in the supernatural powers claimed by these men, but he was quite confounded by the result, and could never venture an explanation of the curious affair. I think it, however, not unlikely, that the servants, finding the matter very serious, may have investigated it among themselves, and having reason to think that one of their number was guilty, had informed the devotee of him, and perhaps assisted in pulling the Lota towards him, by means of hairs, or silk threads, not easily seen in a room not very well lighted, as is generally the case in India, where the rooms are much shaded from the sun, for the sake of coolness; and that the delinquent, overwhelmed by his own superstitious terrors, at once confessed what he had confidently denied before. It is not likely that he was himself a party to the trick, as by it, he lost a good situation, and the means of life.

An incident that occured in another friend's at Benares, suggested this solution of the difficulty, at least so far as the confession of guilt is concerned. A theft had taken place, of which he strongly suspected some of his servants. He called them all before him, and closely questioned them, but they all confidently denied any knowledge of the affair. Finding no clue to discover the offender, he stationed himself near the door, and made them all pass, one by one, so that he might stare each in the face, and see if any one of them betrayed, by his looks, any indications of conscious guilt. All passed the ordeal, without in the least wincing under his eye, till it came to the turn of the sweeper,—the lowest servant in the house. This was a rather stout, and heavy man, and having to pass over a trap door, above a small cellar under the room, the bars supporting it gave way, when down he went with a crash into the cellar below, among a quantity of old dishes, bottles, and other lumber, receiving in his fall some very severe bruises. All exclaimed with one voice, "This is the thief! this is the thief!" The poor fellow was hoisted up in a woeful plight, and groaning with pain, actually confessed that he was the thief, restoring the stolen article, and losing his place and character, at the same time. He

and his fellow servants, I have no doubt, most fully believed that the affair was no accident, but a real and direct interposition of some invisible power, to detect a crime.

The constant presence, and interference of invisible beings, in all human affairs, whether important or insignificant, is ever recognized by the Hindoos of all classes, and in almost every conceivable form. This gives a peculiarly religious character, to the language and phraseology in constant use among the people generally, and an air of pious resignation to the will of God, and an ostensible acknowledgement of the divine presence and providence, not usually to be found, to so great extent, even among nations professing Christianity. These common phrases and modes of expression, however, though they may seem very solemn and appropriate, are, in general, used without the least seriousness; and the recognition of the presence of God, though in one form or another, constantly on their lips, has little, or no, observable effect on their moral conduct. Nor does it seem that the acknowledgment of a future state of rewards and punishments, made on all occasions, by every class of people in India, has any considerable influence on the morals of the Hindoos. Many of those by whom this reference to a future state is most frequently, and most solemnly made, are often to be found among the most depraved of the community. No doubt the future punishment of sins, committed in this life, is very often not seriously believed, and where it is believed, it is regarded as not of eternal, but of temporary duration, and not always of any very great intensity; and, therefore, not a thing in itself to be very seriously feared by a brave man. Hence the utmost indifference is often expressed, in the prospect even of immediate death, by men who profess fully to believe in a future state. An European magistrate once related, that having a number of Thugs under his charge, who had been sentenced to death, he went into the jail the night before their intended execution, to see if any of them had any request to make, before leaving the world. On entering, he was surprised to find them laughing and joking. One of them, who was a Hindoo, whose rules of caste did not permit him to eat, or smoke, with the rest,

was asked to take a whiff of one of their pipes, but at first declined doing so, as contrary to his caste. On this the rest, bursting into a loud laugh at his expense, said, "O, never mind that now; in Jahannampur (literally, hell town) where we are all going to-morrow morning, there will be no caste." On this he took the pipe, and began to smoke like the rest.

To the Hindoo sentiment, so universally prevalent, that no future punishment is of anything like permanent duration, much of the apathy of that people with respect to death, may be attributed. Hence also the frequency with which they commit suicide, on meeting with calamities, or social disgrace, respecting which, caste feelings make the more respectable classes exceedingly sensitive. Women especially, very often commit suicide. The most common way in which it is done, is by jumping into wells, which in north-western India are, generally, so deep, as to render death almost certain, to any persons who may fall into them, either by accident or design.

Suicide is often committed also, from religious motives, or from the influence of fanatical delusions. In such cases it is not regarded as a vice, but as a virtue, as in the case of Suttee, and the self-immolations sometimes practised at Jaggatnâth and elsewhere. This sort of suicide, takes place most frequently among the different classes of religious devotees, of whom we have been speaking, and occurs oftenest on occasion of particular festivals, and at certain places, supposed to be holy. They are not common in the country generally. In consequence, now, of the efforts of the British government, to prevent such occurrences, and to punish any persons who may be concerned in assisting and encouraging them, they are very rare; and though the self-inflicted tortures of the devotees cannot well be prevented, there can be little doubt, but the want of respect shown to such characters, by the public functionaries, is gradually lowering their credit with the common people.

Besides the Bairágees, Gosáins, and Jogees, there are many other fraternities of ascetics, of different kinds, both travelling and stationary. Some of these may be regarded as entirely independent

sects, and others merely as off-shoots, or separatists from the larger ones, their sentiments and habits being essentially the same. One class of them, known usually by the name of Nâga, go entirely naked, and seem, in general, exceedingly fanatical; as well as another, who take the name of Paramhans, that is, "Supreme Being." These appear in the same Adamic costume as the former, indicative of their pretensions to sinless purity. All these naked classes of devotees, or, as the Greeks called them, when they first saw them in India, in the army of Alexander the Great, Gymnosophists, profess, by meditation, mortification, and abstract devotion, to have completely extinguished all sexual passions; and that, in general, they have rendered themselves physically incapable of indulging them is no doubt true, it being well known that artificial means are employed for this purpose, though actual mutilation is not practised, as that would greatly lessen the supposed virtue, which consists in the entire absence of passion. Some of them profess never, of themselves, to take either food or drink; but their disciples and admirers do not allow them to starve, but often feed them well, by stuffing their mouths with the most savoury food, thinking themselves not a little honoured when they condescend to swallow it, after it has been put into their mouths. I have heard even of money being given them, to induce them to swallow sweetmeats which were presented to them. Some of them profess to be quite unconscious of what is going on around them, and always either sit in one place, or stalk about, never minding where they go, as if they were in a state of entire abstraction.

They are not always, however, so much above the world as they pretend. One of them, who, for many years, sat at the foot of a tree, near the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, in a state of entire nudity, exposed to all the vicissitudes of sun and wind, rain and cold, was observed never to look at, or touch any money laid down before him by the passers by, but still, in some way or other, the money disappeared. At last, a gang of thieves, whose love of plunder was greater than their veneration for such a holy man, went to him one night, and seizing hold of him very rudely, threatened

to beat him to death, if he did not tell them where his treasure was hid, of the real existence of which they had no doubt. After all his protestations and remonstrances had failed, being quite beyond the reach of help, and finding, at last, that they were no longer to be trifled with, he pointed to a spot near the tree, where they dug, and found an ample reward for their pains. The story took wind, and dissipated the odour of his sanctity. His credit for being superior to the world was lost, and he thought it prudent soon to decamp from the place.

One of the most rigid, of these devotee sects, is called Sanyásee, who according to their proper rules, ought to live only in desert places, and subsist entirely on roots and wild fruits. Many of them, however, are to be met with in Benares and other large towns. There is one branch also of the Gosáin sect called Dandi, or rod-bearers, in consequence of their being distinguished by carrying a long straight rod, called Dand—on which they sometimes have fixed a small yellowish, or saffron flag, like that of the regular Gosáins. They live generally in small fraternities or monastries, and go out, especially, on certain days, to beg for their subsistence, visiting, for this purpose, the houses of their supporters, but not, I think, begging indiscriminately, like many of the other devotees. From the appearance of the places where they live, in Benares, I suspect that they are far from being poor, but their demeanour is much more grave, and dignified, than that of most other sects. Their sentiments are generally of an abstract, and rather mystical nature, relating much to the doctrine of maya, or illusion, and in some points, not unlike those of the Budhist sects. They usually have a Guru, or spiritual guide, at the head of each small fraternity. On one occasion a party of them who lived on the banks of the river, near Benares, a few years ago, gave a curious exhibition of the faith which they sometimes put in the words of their Guru. The Guru of this party was an old man, named Tulsi Dás, who had a considerable reputation among them for sanctity. It would seem that he had told his disciples, some of whom I knew, that he was not, like other men, doomed to die, or

that if he died, his soul would return to his body, so that it would soon rise again. They were not, therefore, to dispose of it in the usual way. His disciples believed this, and when the old man at last died, they set down his body, according to his directions, on the bank of the river, and watched it night and day for a considerable time, till it became almost entirely decomposed, and all hopes of its reviving were extinguished.

Besides these sects of devotees, already noticed, there are many others, more or less numerous, some of them widely diffused over the country, but others of a more local character, and to be found only in certain districts. Even when they are, as far as their doctrines are concerned, essentially the same sects, some of them have different names in different provinces. Those of the south of India, especially, even when actually the same, are known by other names than those which they bear in the north. Some of them, like the Gosáins, engage in secular pursuits, but others are purely ascetic, and religious. Some of them entirely repudiate marriage, as an unholy state, while others fully admit of it, their women, generally, being also devotees. One of these sects has the curious custom of rejoicing at the death of any of their number, and hence a funeral among them is conducted somewhat like a marriage. I have seen them carry the dead to the grave—for they do not burn them like ordinary Hindoos—with cheerful songs, and instrumental music. Death, they say, is not an evil, but a great blessing, as it is the emancipation of the soul from the prison of the body, and from the baneful influence of the evil passions by which it is tortured in this life. To weep over the death of a friend, is, therefore, no mark of affection, but the reverse; while to express joy at his having obtained salvation, is a token of much more respect to his memory, and worth.

Among the smaller sects, found, generally, only in some particular district, there are some who hold their meetings in secret, and and are accused, by general report, of the most detestable crimes, though on what tangible grounds it is difficult to say. They are nowhere, however, very numerous. One sect, especially, is said to

hold the opinion, that the best way of escaping from the passions, especially those of a sexual nature, is to indulge them to excess, till they be destroyed. Men and women, professing to hold these sentiments, are said to meet in parties in secret, to celebrate their mysteries, in which they indulge, to the utmost of their power, in the most beastly intercourse. It is to be feared that the accusations of this nature brought against them, are by no means groundless, though they may be exaggerated. The very mystical doctrines taught by this, and several other of the minor sects, are naturally calculated to exercise the most pernicious influence on the carnal mind; though, as often expressed merely in books, they may seem to inculcate nothing but the most trancendental spiritualism.

Some of the devotee sects do not offer up worship to the images of the gods, but most of them do, though they often practise idolatrous rites somewhat different from those most usually observed by the common people. Indeed, several of the larger bodies of devotees may be regarded as the most powerful partizans of the Brahmans, and the most zealous supporters of the gross system of popular idolatry. In this they are like the religious orders in the Catholic countries of Europe, who, although they have their own separate and apparently independent organizations, are the greatest promoters of the Romish superstitions, and the best supporters of the papal power. The want of similar orders, rendered the idolatrous systems of Greece and Rome, with all their popular mythologies and poetical attractions, comparatively powerless, and easily overthrown. They had no hold on the philosophical mind—they never reached the depths of human nature, and the infant Hercules, Christianity, strangled them in its cradle, while its contest with the far more powerful, and many formed monster, Hinduism, was reserved for its more mature years.

Many of the Hindoo devotees have, no doubt, a good deal of religious feeling, and a considerable amount of bewildered thought about God, and invisible things, mingled with ingenious philosophical dogmas. This I have generally found to have been the case with individuals, from among them, who have been converted to

Christianity, and it may, therefore, also be presumed to be so with many more of the same class. An enthusiastic, and fanatical turn of mind, is very naturally interested in the curious speculations, on which most of the conversation of many of these devotees turns, and the wandering and romantic life usually led by them, is liked, on account of its variety and interest, by a certain class of rather powerful, but eccentric minds. Hence, among the converts from these devotee sects, we have met with a considerable amount of talent, and versatility, but very often accompanied with a wildness, and unsteadiness of disposition and conduct, as well as a strong disinclination to all regular pursuits, probably, in some degree, both the cause and the consequence of the singular life which they had led, before coming under the influence of Christian truth. Still it is a gratifying fact, that a number of the best native preachers, in many of the Indian missions, are converts from among these ascetics, or devotee sects, and the tendencies of mind, which would seem at first to have induced them to betake themselves to a religious life, have afterwards had no small influence in disposing them to listen to the gospel, and seriously to consider its claims.

A great many of them, however, are cunning rogues, and great impostors, and whether Brahmans or not themselves, they are always ready to lend their influence and testimony to keep up the popularity of the idols, and the prosperity of the temples. For this purpose they rehearse everywhere the extraordinary benefits to be obtained, by pilgrimages to certain holy places, such as Benares, or by gifts, and worship, presented at holy shrines. They sing the praises of the gods, and sometimes aid, with all their ingenuity, in getting up pretended miracles, in order to attract people in crowds to present offerings at certain temples. The following specimen of a miracle illustrates their ingenuity in this respect. One of these pretended holy men professed to have had a dream, that at a particular spot, on a certain day, an image of one of the gods—I think of Mahadeo himself—would emerge, in a miraculous way, from the earth; and that the god had ordered, that on the spot where it should appear, a temple should be bulit, his worship established,

and offerings presented by the people. This expected advent was announced by the Brahmans and devotees, far and near; and on the day when the miracle was expected, a great multitude assembled at the place indicated. The crowd was arranged round the spot pointed out, the Brahmans and the devotees being, of course, present, within the circle, to do all due reverence to the god, when coming up from the lower regions of Pátál, he should show himself above ground. After the people had waited for a considerable time, under intense excitement, the symptoms of the god's advent began to appear. The ground which before was level, began, though at first almost imperceptibly, to rise, and swell gradually into a hillock. After increasing for a considerable time, the hillock burst at the top, and revealed to the admiring and astonished eyes of the eager and superstitious multitude, a large stone image of the expected god. The miracle was evident to all. No one could muster courage to express a single doubt. The joyful shouts of the people rose on every side, and a resolution was instantaneously formed, to build a temple and spread the fame of this newly manifested deity, as widely as possible; and the Brahmans and their coadjutors made quite sure of a golden harvest. The crowd, however, no doubt weary and hungry, dispersed, and night came on; when a man, in whose cranium the bump of incredulity, would seem to have been more strongly developed, than in those of his neighbours, determined to go back, and examine the spot more fully than any of them had done. Taking with him the necessary implements, he dug into the ground where the god had appeared, and "undetered by conscientious qualms," examined the whole place. He soon found out the secret. The men who had announced the god's advent, had dug a deep well, which they had filled up nearly to the top with dry barley, over which some earth had been firmly trampled down. On this the stone image had been place, and then covered over with earth, so as to make the whole appear level with the rest of the ground. As the water continued increasing in the newly dug well, the barley becoming soaked, of course swelled, and consequently heaved up the superincumbent earth, till the image,

imbedded in it, was raised above the ground, about the time when they had calculated, and announced that it would appear. This Paul Pry, by his unhallowed curiosity, spoiled their whole plan, after it had so nearly succeeded, by calling the attention of the people next morning to the machinery they had employed; and the miracle workers were obliged to get out of the way, as fast as possible. Had this discovery, however, not been made, the fame of the miraculous appearance of the image, and consequently of the temple containing it, would no doubt have become great, and it might have, like others, whose fame rests upon similar legends, become a place of much resort, and a source of vast profit to its contrivers.

A volume, by no means destitute of interest to the student of human nature, might be written on the doctrines, practices, and organization, of the Hindoo devotee sects; but such a work would, to be truly valuable, require to be written in India, where alone authentic materials, and *viva voce*, information can be found through actual intercourse, with those singular fraternities. All that I intended, or have attempted in this chapter, has been only to give some general notices, of some of the principal sects, merely as results of my general recollections of years of daily intercourse with them, during my missionary labours at Benares. It would be easy to extend these notices, but perhaps my readers may think them already too long.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT BENARES.—FORM AND HEIGHT OF NATIVE HOUSES.—STATE OF FEMALE SOCIETY.—FESTIVAL OF THE HULI.—FEMALE EDUCATION.—NATIVE FEMALE READERS, &c.

To give anything like a full description of the various classes of people, inhabiting, or frequenting Benares, or to give any general account of their manners, customs, religious sentiments, and usages, would require a work of great extent; and would, in fact, have to embrace an account of nearly all the nations of India; for there is scarcely a province of the country, that is not more or less represented in this peculiar city. All that we can do, is merely to take a glance at some of the principal classes. The general basis of the population of the city, is, of course, the same as that of the surrounding country; both Hindoos and Muhammadans being ordinary Hindustanees. The Muhammadans, generally, speak the Urdú language, while the Hindui is most used by the rest of the people. A good many of the Hindoos, however, speak Urdú, and, unless among the Brahmans, the Hindui is usually spoken, with a considerable admixture of Urdú words. The Hindui, however, which derives most of its words from the Sanscrit, though in general not very purely spoken, may still be said to be the language of the city, as it is used by the great mass of the Hindoos, who constitute the great majority of the people; while Urdú, which derives most of its words from the Arabic and Persian languages, is not much used, in any considerable degree of purity, except among the Muhammadans, who do not likely form above a sixth, or seventh, of the entire population. The Urdú, however, is used by a small body of Hindoos, mostly of the writer caste, many of whom are employed in the government, and other public offices.

Among the strangers from other parts of India, usually resident

at Benares, the Bengalees, Mahrattas, and Gujeratees, are the most numerous. Besides the great numbers constantly coming and going, on pilgrimage, the Bengalees resident in Benares, have been estimated at about ten thousand. A good many of them are men of some property, who come here to live and die, in the sacred city, in the belief that they will receive some great blessing, through so doing, in the future state. A good many of these sojourners are Brahmans. Most of the Bengalees live in one district of the city, towards the west end, which is hence called the "Bengalee Tola," or division; and a similar neighbourhood is occupied by the Mahrattas, and the people from Gujerat, so that, though there is a general intermixture of the classes, certain nations preponderate, in particular parts of the town.

As a good many of the inhabitants, both strangers and natives, are possessed of considerable wealth, not a few of their houses are large and lofty buildings. The great height of the houses, and the steep, narrow stone stairs leading up to their flat terraced roofs, through very dark labyrinths, and the absence of all windows towards the streets, give them the appearance, generally, of the old castles in Europe. They all open to the inside, into a court, which is great or small, according to the size of the house, and towards which there are galleries on each story, from which all the rooms are entered by separate doors. In very hot weather, a canopy, usually made of a very thick and strong, striped cloth, is drawn over the top, to keep out the rays of the sun from the court below, and the rooms which open into it. In the gospels we are informed of a sick man, who was brought on a couch to our Saviour to be healed, being carried up to the top of the house, in consequence of the crowd assembled about the door, and then let down by taking off the roof. This proceeding to us seems very strange, and rather unreasonable, and the owner of the house, might naturally have taken offence at getting his roof spoiled. There can be little doubt, however, that the proceeding was perfectly reasonable, and that no damage, whatever, was done to the building; as they merely had taken up the patient, on his couch, by an outer staircase, to the flat terraced roof, and removing

the edge of the cloth drawn over the central hall, or open court of the building, let him down at once into the midst of the people, there assembled to listen to our Saviour's instructions; instead of making a disturbance by pressing through the crowd. The houses in Palestine were, and still are, built on nearly the same general plan, as those of Benares.

The great number of very steep stairs, both in the inside of the houses, and at the public ghâts on the river, is often spoken of as one of the great plagues of Benares. According to a proverb current among the natives, its three greatest plagues are "*Widows, Brahmani Bulls, and stairs.*" The reason for classing widows, as equal plagues, with difficult stairs, and Brahmani Bulls, the greatest common obstructors to progress in this crowded city, arises, unfortunately from so large a portion of the women of loose character, being really, or pretendedly of the class of widows. As the rules of most of the castes, and especially of the higher, are opposed to the marriage of widows; and even girls are counted so who have merely been betrothed, and that often in childhood; but have never lived with their husbands; a great many such young widows, are cut off from all hope of honourable marriage, and being looked on as a burden by their relatives, they are often made family drudges, and very badly treated. Many of them in these circumstances, become quite reckless of character, and, therefore, an easy prey to seducers, and consequently they swell the ranks of women of bad fame, in every place, but most of all in such cities as Benares, where there is such a constant resort of strangers of all classes. Many of them, especially the more handsome, are also kept as mistresses, in a style of considerable luxury, chiefly by men whose families are not resident.

The morals of the Muhammadans, in this respect, are exceedingly loose. If resident for a time at a place, a Muhammadan will form a sort of marriage connexion with some woman of this description, and will treat her as his wife while he remains, though he has a wife and family elsewhere; but on going away he in general leaves her destitute, whether she has any child-

ren to him or not. The Muhammadan religion, though it allows of a plurality of wives, does not, properly speaking, permit any thing like this practice; as it limits polygamy, by binding a man both to live with, and to support each of his wives, and even slave girls, whom he may have taken to his bed. In this respect the Muhammadan code is superior to that of some of the so called Christian states of North America, whose free citizens are allowed by law, to cohabit with slave women, without enfranchising them, and then sell both mother and child—the latter the fruit of their own free born bodies—in the public market, as they would a common grunter born in their pig-sty. The practice among the the Muhammadans of forming this secondary sort of marriage connexion, when resident for perhaps only a comparatively short time in a neighbourhood, is by no means uncommon, especially among the lower classes, and has necessarily a most pernicious influence on the character of women, and especially on that of young widows, who, as far as I have observed, are the especial victims of these temporary marriages; for though Hindoos, they often leave their caste in order to form them, and thus become Mussulmanees; but when forsaken by their temporary husbands, they often become at last common prostitutes.

The degraded state of female society in India, is the source of many of the worst evils, and immoralities, existing among the people, and is itself the result of a system of training, or rather of neglect, necessarily arising from the very low estimate of the female character, to a very great extent incalculated both by Muhammadanism and Hinduism. In this respect Muhammadanism, contrary to what might have been expected, from its nearer connexion with Christianity, instead of being better, it is even worse than Hinduism, which in every way gives more real honour, at least to virtuous women, though not always to the sex in general, many of the Indian sages being certainly very far from being first-rate models of gallantry. Women are not indeed, according to either system, represented as, in all instances, entirely incapable of real goodness or virtue, but still they are

supposed to be so radically weak and worthless, as it respects all moral restraint on their passions and tempers, that to trust to any thing like principle in them, would be the most extravagant folly. They are represented by the great Hindoo sage, Manu, as influenced chiefly by "A love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct, and as foul as falsehood itself." The weakness of the female character is supposed to be such, that, to preserve the honour of a respectable woman, it is considered necessary that she should have no social intercourse with the other sex, unless with those who are very near relatives. In this idea of propriety, the women themselves universally concur, regarding it as a mark of low vulgarity, if not of absolute lightness of character, to be seen on the streets unless veiled, and attended, by female friends, and especially by those of mature age, and undoubted respectability.

The lower orders of women, who require to work for their bread, are not subject to any such restrictions of etiquette, but appear as freely in public as European women of the same rank; though the younger of them exhibit a coyishness not observable among the same classes in Europe. Elderly women, however, have no such reserve, and are extremely noisy and talkative, and, perhaps, unrivalled in their powers for scolding. I have often seen a woman continue to pour forth volley after volley of abuse on her husband for five or six hours, without, apparently, ever stopping to take breath, or being at a loss either for matter or for words. Nothing could equal her volubility, except it were his matchless power of endurance. Instead of the meek, abject creature that a Hindoo wife is often represented to be, I have often seen one of them firmly grasping her husband's hair with her left hand, while, with her right, she belaboured him about the ears; when, for fear of the disgrace of openly striking a woman, he has forborne to return a blow. Forbearance is not, however, generally carried so far; and to chastise one's own wife is, by a great many, considered no disgrace, if her conduct only deserves it. An English ecclesiasti-

cal judge in London, of very high authority, has recently decided from the bench, that a man who beats his wife is not thereby disqualified from being a schoolmaster in a Church of England school, and, therefore, a pattern of morals after which the English youth may form themselves, if he only does it in a somewhat decent and private manner. We need not, therefore, congratulate ourselves, as a people, on having, in respect to this subject, reached any very much higher standard than that of the Hindoos, who, as well as ourselves, are, for the most part, ready to admit, that to beat a woman is both wrong and cowardly. The treatment of women, however, in Bengal, is, in general, very much worse than it is in Hindustan. There they seem to be more degraded into mere servants or drudges, even where poverty does not require them to labour; and they seem much less the companions and advisers of their husbands than in upper India, where the female sex, though much degraded, is not, in general, ill used, nor destitute of social influence.

Notwithstanding the general weakness of the female character in India, there is often much to be seen that is amiable and affectionate in the conduct of the women, both as wives and mothers. The laborious care and tenderness with which a Hindoo woman will attend and watch her sick husband, and the tears of sympathy that she will often shed over his sufferings, as she employs every means she can think of to alleviate his pains and restore him to health, are more than sufficient to convince any reasonable person that she is by no means that heartless and apathetic creature that she has often been represented to be, by strangers in India, unacquainted with her real character. She is naturally mild, but lively, and susceptible of great improvement, were real pains taken to cultivate her understanding and heart; but her education is so completely neglected, unless in so far as it respects the simplest domestic duties, and obedience to her parents, and other relatives, that it is the greatest wonder that her general character is not much worse than it actually appears to be. The great distance required to be maintained between the sexes, in public, necessarily deprives the women

of all the more general advantages of converse with ordinary society, and almost forces them to herd together in gossipping coteries, and, for want of more interesting subjects, to spend most of their time in silly chatterings, singing foolish, and sometimes even indecent songs, and talking scandal, or, as they express it themselves, "Putting their ladle into every one's pot." The women of the very lowest orders, in general, work hard, those of them who live in the country being employed in cultivating the fields, and carrying their various kinds of produce to market, and those in the towns, in household duties, and in spinning, keeping shops or stalls, or assisting their husbands in any business in which they may be engaged. Many of those of the lower orders are even to be seen carrying burdens, as coolies, or porters, and even climbing up ladders, with loads of bricks and lime, &c., as assistants to masons or bricklayers. The more respectable women, however, are the most complete idlers in the world, sitting often the whole day with their hands folded over each other, or talking, smoking, or lounging on couches, having female servants to fan them, or rub their arms and limbs, and supply them with all the gossip of the neighbourhood.

On occasion of some of the public festivals, many rather respectable women, of the middle classes, appear among the crowds, at the different melas. These, however, are generally in groupes, and though not actually in company with, are within immediate reach, of, their male relations, by whom they may be guarded from insults. Some of these festivals, however, are celebrated by the more repectable women, only within doors, as they are publicly conducted in a way, not regarded as at all consistent with female delicacy. On some such occasions, the songs, and general ribaldry of the crowds, going about in processions with music &c., are considered too gross for the ears of persons of character, especially of the female sex. Multitudes of women of the lower classes, however, as well as of those acknowledgedly of loose morals, join freely in such celebrations, and especially in that of the Húli, a very popular festival, in north-western India, which takes place at the beginning of the hot season,

and lasts for about twenty days. This is by far the worst period of dissipation in Benares, and in the surrounding provinces, generally. Though there are a good many different legends connected with it,—the common and no doubt the correct one, is, that it is held in memory of the gambols of the god Krishna, during his youth, when incarnate among the shepherds, or herdsmen of Gokul and Bindraban, before he went to accomplish the great object of his incarnation,—the destruction of the demon giant Kans, the tyrant of Mathura; and also during a temporary return to the sylvan scenes of his youth, when he is represented as having danced and gambolled with his former companions, the milkmaids, and especially with his favourite, or sweetheart, Rádha; all of whom, though often made aware of his deity, are represented in all the legends, as so completely facinated by the attractions and pranks of this singular god, that they forget his divinity, and fall desperately in love with him, as a handsome shepherd youth.

During this remarkable festival, the women claim the right, without giving any offence, of slapping and cuffing their husbands, and other male relatives, and loading them with every abusive epithet, and at the same time, of throwing over them a sort of red powder prepared for the occasion. When they are almost covered with this from head to foot, they deluge them with water, which dissolves the powder, till all their clothes, as well as their bodies, are so besmeared, that they seem as if drenched with blood. In this state of great excitement, crowds of men and women, parade the streets, night and day, with music and singing, making all sorts of noises, so that nearly the whole population appears to have gone mad. Many of the graver sort of people, shut themselves up in their houses, to escape the ridicule and buffeting, which they are sure to receive if they go out among the rabblement in the streets. The lower orders of women, are the principal ringleaders in all this mischief. Parading the principal streets and thoroughfares, they sing in chorus, as loud as they are able, such popular songs, as are intended for the occasion. Some of these are, no doubt, of an indelicate nature; but though I have collected a good many of them,

I did not find them to be generally so, at least at Benares, as far as those most sung in public were concerned. They, of course, generally refer to the feats, gambols, and gallantries of the god Krishna, who is the favoutite deity of the lower orders of Hindoo women, and it is to be feared even of the higher. The following song is a specimen of those usually sung by them, during this festival. They are generally sung as a sort of chorus, in the intervals between the very rude music of the hired musicians, who are mostly Barbers, employed to head the clamorous processions. Krishna is always the object of praise, in these ditties, but more in his very popular character of a hero, and a lover, than in that of a god. Even the popular god Rám, called Rám Raghu Beer—that is Rám the hero of the race of Raghu, as well as his brother Lakshman, is often disadvantageously compared with this favourite god of the women; though both of them incarnations of the great god Vishnu.

SONG TO KRISHNA, SUNG BY THE WOMEN.

COME tell us of Krishna the god of the herds,
How he roams in the green woods of Bindraban dear,
How he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
And we care not for Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

O sweet sings the Bulbul, in Gokul's gay woods,
And fair blooms the Jasmine in Bindraban dear,
While he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
More graceful than Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

Proud Kans he has slain, once Mathura's dread,
But now he returns to his Bindraban dear,
Where he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
More glorious than Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

Now heart-stricken Rádha has wandered astray,
She weeps for her love, and she trembles with fear,
While he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
More joyous than Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

Fair Rádha, lament not, your love will come back—
He but humbles your pride, while he thinks you more dear;
Though he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
Yet he's faithful as Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

At the sound of his flute, all the woodlands are mute,
And the songsters* above they all listen to hear,
While he dances along, to the milkmaid's song,
More beauteous than Lakshman or Rám Raghu Beer.

Krishna is not much worshipped in north-western India, though the books and songs in celebration of his exploits, many of which are very absurd, are exceedingly numerous and popular. A great many of them are of a character calculated to have a most pernicious influence on the minds of both sexes, and no festival has acknowledgedly a greater tendency to corrupt the morals of all classes, than the Húli, during which the licentious gambols of that rakish, and libidinous god, are celebrated by songs and revelry, bacchanalian orgies and uproarious processions, in which crowds of men and women indulge in the most extravagant folly. In Bengal, where the manners of the people are even more effeminate and voluptuous than in Hindustan, Krishna and the female deities, especially the common forms of Durga and Kálee, are much worshipped, but unless as grouped with others, they are not so much adored at Benares Though the various forms of Vishna, especially those of Krishna and Rám Chander (for the word Rám by itself is often used merely in the sense of God) are very much invoked in ordinary discourse, yet the worship most practised at Benares,

* "The Songsters Above." These are the Gandharbas, or heavenly choristers, great troops of whom attend upon the gods in the heaven of Indra, and are often represented, as well as the Apsaras, and other celestial beings, as taking a great interest in Krishna during his incarnation, and also as being mightily pleased with his feats and gambols, during his youth. These beings occupy a sort of middle place between gods and men, and their moral character, is also, according to Hindoo mythology, a mixture of good and evil.

and in the north-western provinces generally, is that of Shiva, but as here more commonly called, Mahadeo, images and other emblems of whom are everywhere to be seen, both in the temples and in the open air.

The Húli festival, however, is in honour of Krishna, but has scarcely any thing connected with it of a religious character. It is a mere Saturnalia, and is allowed by all the more sensible of the heathen themselves, to be both a disgrace, and a curse to the country, and, especially, calculated to demoralize the female portion of the community. Hence the time when it is held, is usually called the "days of madness." The Muhammadans have an especial dislike to it, as, during its continuance, they are often insulted by the Hindoos, who throw the red powder on all whom they meet, whether they are of their own party or not. This the true believers of the Muhammadan creed, look on with very great abhorrence as a mark of joining in idolatrous rites; and not only the great quarrel at Benares, of which we have already spoken, but many other faction fights, in different parts of the country, have been occasioned by collisions between the Hindoo processions, during the Húli and those of the Muhammadans, when they have happened to be celebrating the Muhurram, which is occasionally held at the same time. I have seen the younger Muhammadans sometimes join for a little in the amusement of throwing about the red powder, when met by Hindoo processions, but by the grave, long white bearded seniors, and especially the Maulvees, the whole thing is looked on, as an awful and idolatrous pollution, calculated to bring on the people, the curse of God.

The state of female society in India, is always a difficult subject for an European, either to speak, or write upon; as he can very rarely have any intimate acquaintance with native women of respectability, unless with such as are of mixed origin, and who are not true specimens of native female society, as many of their habits, and sentiments, are, in some measure at least, European. He may indeed, know a great deal about the characters of the women of the lower orders, but it would not be fair to make them the stan-

dard, by which to judge of those classes of women, who though no doubt very imperfectly instructed, have been carefully kept, all their days, in quiet family retirement; and have never been exposed to the vitiating influence of the common bazár, and of the most promiscuous association with all classes, not even excepting the most depraved, in a heathen community. It is but rare indeed, that an European can have any conversation with women of the higher classes in India; but the few instances in which I have been introduced to them, made a favourable impression on my mind, with respect to their good sense, and general intelligence. Though they do not mix in ordinary society, and rarely converse with the other sex, beyond the limits of their own families, yet their means of information, with respect to the world at large, are much greater, than might at first be supposed possible, from their secluded way of life.

Being naturally shrewd and inquisitive, they manage through means of their servants, and female confidants, as well as through their husbands, sons, and other male relatives, to keep themselves well informed about what is going on outside, in the world around, from the smallest talk, and gossip of a neighbourhood, up to the highest matters of state. From the most ancient times to the present day, the ladies of India have always had much influence in public and political affairs. Thrones have been established, and overthrown by their intrigues, in every age of Indian history, and though they are seldom seen in public, their influence is everywhere felt and acknowledged. The two last and most serious wars in which Britain has been engaged, those of Gwalior and the Panjáb, wars rarely surpassed in modern times, for desperate fighting and bloodshed, were to a considerable extent, occasioned by two Hindoo ladies, who, for the time, were rulers of their respective countries.

Women, while young, in India, have generally not much influence, except it be over their husbands; but after they are somewhat advanced in life, their power over the persons and property of their families, sometimes even to the third and fourth

generation, is very great. The system of early marriages and the custom of the younger married people, still remaining under the parental roof, and authority, throw all domestic power into hands of the grand, or even great grand parents, while the younger married people, continue even after they have large families, to be treated, in many respects, as minors; for though the law does not count them such, it is not considered honourable in a son to withdraw himself and children from his father's authority, unless some peculiar circumstances, such as being obliged to remove to some distance for the means of life—should render it necessary; but not even then without the general consent of the family. Individual independence, as soon as a youth is able to earn his own bread, as claimed by the rising generation in Britain, cannot be aspired to in India, without subjecting the aspirant to loss of caste, and entire degradation, a degradation, which not even parental indulgence can avert; for a father who does not enforce on his son or grand-son, the proper rules of family order, as practised in his tribe, runs, at all times, the risk of being expelled from his caste.

The laws of the Hindoos, instead of being degrading to women as it respects the rights of property, may be regarded as more indulgent than those of most nations. Hence in almost every transaction, respecting family property, the women have great influence, and show considerable tact and aptitude for business, and are not very easily outwitted by the cunning tricks about title deeds &c., in which the Indian lawyers are often better versed, than in the simpler rules of common honesty. As the women have legal rights to certain parts of all real family property, very few bargains can be made about it, without their consent. The same may be said with respect to all marriage transactions, affecting not merely their own children, but also their grand-children; and a man applying for the hand of a damsel, either for himself, or his son, makes perfectly sure that all is right, if he has once got the consent of the grand-mother. As far as the elderly women, in general, are concerned,

it may be safely stated, that scarcely any important step, affecting the family interests, can be taken, either by their sons, or husbands, without their consent.

That there is a great want of gallantry and of external attention to females in India, especially in Bengal, (where the men being, even for India, proverbially destitute of manliness, are notorious for their harsh treatment of women), there can be no doubt, but that Indian women, generally, are so entirely deprived of all social influence, and even common respect, as some writers, whose observation has been confined chiefly to Bengal, have represented, is entirely contrary to all my experience, in those parts of India where I have resided. They do not indeed appear so much on the open stage of life, as their more privileged, and better instructed sisters in Europe, but their influence behind the scenes, is not less powerful, as every one who has much to do with native society, soon becomes aware. Indeed, very seldom can a man complete any engagement, or important business transaction, unless he is a very common business man, without first having settled the affair with his privy council, in the female apartments of his house. In India, as in Europe, a man either respects his wife's judgment sufficiently to make him wish to have her advice, or he stands in such awe of her resentment, as to make him very reluctant to proceed in any cause opposed to her will. Hence in India, it is no unusual thing to find a man, who so far from being ashamed of the idea of being under petticoat government, that he will plainly say that he cannot come to a decision on some particular business, till he has obtained the opinion of his mother and sisters, or of his wife; if not of all of them combined. The share which women have in family property, would of course, render many transactions entirely void, if not carried on with their consent, and in almost all family affairs, whether secular or religious, their influence is very great, if not almost supreme. That of the elderly women, if they happen to be possessed of considerable sagacity, is not unfrequently even greater than that of the men, but the younger women being usually treated very

much as children, even after they are married, and have young children of their own, have not nearly so much influence as women of the same age in Europe, being almost entirely under the authority of their mothers-in-law, who claim, and exercise over them, and their children, the same authority as over their own unmarried daughters. Marriage merely transfers authority, over a very young woman, from her own parents, to her parents-in-law, to whom her husband also, is still, to a large extent, subject.

Young women in India are kept under much greater restraint, whether married, or unmarried, than those of Europe, being kept in greater subjection by their relatives, especially by their parents, and parents-in-law; but this is not the case with those women who are past the prime of life. The latter, I am convinced, have as much, if not even greater influence, and certainly much more despotic power in their families, than the same class of women in European society. In fact, nearly all the power, of which the family system in India deprives the younger women, is transferred, not, as is sometimes supposed, to the men, whether fathers, brothers, or husbands, but to the elder female members of their families, on either side. Unless where polygamy is practised, which is only the case among a few of the wealthier classes, the custom of women of respectability being excluded, or of excluding themselves, from public society, instead of diminishing female influence, greatly increases it, by concentrating the active and untiring energies of woman, more directly, and constantly, on domestic and family affairs. The sphere of female activity being much contracted, it naturally acts with more intensity. If it is circumscribed to comparatively fewer objects, these few are pursued with the greater avidity; and, consequently, the energies that, in European female society, find scope abroad, are, in Indian life, entirely spent at home, and, therefore, give a woman of ordinary natural endowments, a greater influence in her own house and family, than is usually possessed by an European woman, though, out of doors, the latter may have a higher character, and more important privileges.

It is most evident, from the ancient Hindoo books, that in former

times, their women of rank, especially, entered much more into society, and mingled much more in public affairs, not by secret intrigue, but in a more general way than their present customs, and female etiquette, permit. The expressions used in the Shasters, respecting women, are often most complimentary, especially in the most ancient writings; and the reverence for them is placed on a religious basis, as in the following lines of an early Hindoo poet:—

> "Woman is man's better half,
> Woman is man's bosom friend,
> Woman is redemption's source—
> From woman comes the liberator."

This has a resemblance to the celebrated passage, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent." It would be rash, however, to assert, that the above quotation, from an early Hindoo book, actually refers to the first promise of the Messiah, though it is not impossible that it may do so; but, at any rate, it answers the purpose for which it is here adduced, and shows that Hinduism does not necessarily inculcate disrespect to womankind. By the liberator being from woman, is expressed the general primeval idea of the son, or seed, being appointed to deliver the soul of his father, by means of prayers and sacrifices. Respect for women is also strongly expressed in the following words from the Hindoo Shasters, "Women are the friends of the solitary; they solace him with their sweet converse; like to a father in the discharge of duty, consoling as a mother in affliction." Constant reference is made, in almost all the early Hindoo books, to the presence of women on public occasions, where it would now be considered indelicate. The more learned Brahmans, with whom I have conversed on this point, have always, in accordance with their early books, maintained, that the seclusion of women was not practised in India, till the custom was introduced by its Muhammadan conquerors, who came from Persia, and other parts of western Asia, where it had previously prevailed, and where it is even now more rigidly observed than in India. They say, and most probably in accordance

with fact, that the custom was not introduced among the Hindoos in imitation of the Muhammadans, but in consequence of the insults to which their women were exposed, from their tyrannical invaders, and especially from their habit of forcibly seizing the most beautiful women, especially the daughters of the more respectable classes, in order to supply the harems of their chiefs, among whom polygamy, in its grossest forms, was prevalent. In order to avoid insults, therefore, the most respectable ladies shut themselves up at home, till seclusion became both a fashion and a habit. This, very naturally, led ultimately to the general establishment of the opinion, that female modesty requires, that women of character, wherever it can be afforded, ought to remain, as much as possible, concealed from the public gaze.

The custom of female seclusion, as practised by the more respectable classes in the east, is often, if not almost universally, spoken of in Europe, as one of an entirely involuntary nature on the part of the women, or as forced upon them, exclusively, by the jealousy of the men. This certainly is not the case *now*, at any rate not in India, whatever opinion may be formed of the origin of the custom. I very much doubt if it originated anywhere with the men, unless with reference to captive women, or slave girls, no doubt often detained as concubines. The custom would seem to have originated in early times among the warlike tribes of central Asia, from whom the Greeks also had it. At a subsequent period, when those tribes overran Persia, Mesopotamia, and other countries, they no doubt frequently took by force, and made many of the most beautiful women concubines and slaves. This practice prevailed both in Europe and Asia from the earliest ages; but such women, however, luxuriously kept, were still, in a certain sense, regarded as slaves, and therefore, kept under a certain degree of restraint. There is no evidence, however, that men put any such restraint on their lawful, and honourable wives, generally born of families of equal rank with themselves. To veil themselves, however, and shun the public gaze, even where no actual law was imposed on them by their husbands, or others, and to avoid general converse with the other sex,

were, from the most ancient times, regarded as marks of modesty, and feminine gentility, among all the older nations, till at length a system of female etiquette was gradually established, according to the extreme views of which, in most countries of the east, it was considered indecent for a woman of rank, or respectability, to show herself in public at all. This system of female seclusion, never became, as seems often to be thought, universal in Asia, many exceptions being to be met with, in various eastern countries. The doctrines and rules of Muhammadanism have favoured it most, and given it a sort of legitimacy in Muhammadan countries; but on Hinduism and some other Asiatic religions, it has only been partially ingrafted. This fashion, like all others, introduced by the great, has been extensively imitated by the middle classes, though it could not by them be either so easily, or at any time, so strictly observed. But though it has no doubt had a considerable influence on the characters and manners of the women of the lower orders, it was quite impossible that the custom of seclusion could be adopted by them. Having to work hard for their bread, that sensitive delicacy, which requires good houses, and covered carriages, in order to shield them from the public gaze, could not be indulged in. The gentility, however, connected with being a "parda nashin," or "sitter behind the screen," is as much an object of ambition to the wife of a prosperous grain dealer, or shopkeeper in Benares, as a house at the west end, with a carriage and livery servants, are to a tradesman's wife in London; and belonging to a family, the faces of whose female members, have never been seen in public, is as much a matter of respectability, as keeping one's own carriage is in England.

The women of the higher classes in India, are not indeed entirely without employment, as they have the care of their children to engross their attention. The girls are, of course, brought up entirely under their care; and the education, such as it is, even of the the boys, is committed to them, till they approach adolescence, when a more manly education is thought necessary, and they are removed from the female apartments and put under the charge of

men, either hired tutors, or ordinary servants, supposed to be trustworthy. In some families a Brahman Pandit, or Guru, (spiritual guide) is kept, who has generally much to do in the education of the young; and among the wealthy Muhammadans a Moulvee is employed, who not only acts as tutor, but has a great influence even over the female members of the family, whom he instructs, more or less, in all religious matters. The great evil in Indian female society, even among the better classes, is the want of anything that, properly speaking, can be called education. Very few of them can even read, though some of them can; and the things that are occasionally read to them, are, for the most part, silly stories, not always of the most decent kind. Many of them are poems and songs, descriptive of the exploits of the gods, or the incredible adventures of imaginary heroes, interspersed often with amatory ditties, epigrams, &c. Wild stories, such as the Arabian tales, are constantly recited, and believed to be all matter of fact, by many of the listeners, who receive through means of them, the most fantastical ideas of the world. Within the narrow limits of their own apartments, they live in a world purely imaginary, even without "putting the saddle on the horse of the imagination,"—a phrase which they use to describe the practice of eating opium, which is said to be very common in the houses of the rich; but their knowledge of the world in which they actually live, unless as it respects their own family affairs, and the gossip of the neighbourhood, is very limited and imperfect.

Female education in India, is a work of the very greatest importance, but as compared with that of education generally, its progress has hitherto been small. The greatest difficulties, however, in the way of female education, have in some parts of India, at least, been in some measure overcome, and it is now making a degree of progress, much greater than could have reasonably been anticipated some years ago. It is not now so much opposed by the natives, as it once was, and, in some parts of the country, they are themselves taking an interest in the subject, and have formed female schools, a thing which only a few years ago, they would have deemed per-

fectly absurd. It is also to be hoped, that better opportunites may soon be obtained, for communicating the knowledge of reading, and especially of the sacred scriptures, to the ladies of the higher and more influential classes, whom we cannot reach by our school.

In the present state of things, perhaps, no agency could be found more suitable than that of native women, educated in our schools. These might be employed as readers, among the native ladies, and also in teaching those of them, who might be disposed to learn in their own houses. They would obtain access to families, where they might read the scriptures, and other Christian books, to the ladies, who, I have no doubt would, in many instances, be disposed to receive them. The plan has been already carried into practice, in some of the very highest families in India. In the house of one of the Princes of the Royal family of Dilhi, the scriptures have, in this way, been read regularly for years, by a native Christian woman, and I have understood that the ladies, took great interest in them, and also read them for themselves. European women are not so likely to succeed well in this work, but native women, would find easy access, both to teach reading to the younger, and to read aloud to the elder, and in this way carry in both the word of God, and other Christian books, to those who themselves can read, for many of the Muhammadan ladies can read well, and some are possessed of considerable literary taste and talent, though the education of women in general, is so much neglected.

European ladies are not likely to get regular and free access to native families, but well trained native Christian women, I have no doubt, would do much good, and there is now a large number of well educated girls, the daughters of native Christians, and also orphan girls brought up in our schools, of whom, not a few have made a profession of religion already, who may be found qualified for this useful employment. Even the heathen girls, who have learned to read well in our schools, have, sometimes, been called in by the people themselves, to read in their families, and been paid for their pains. On one occasion a girl was absent from the school, for some time, and on her return, being asked the reason, she said

that she had been called in, to read to some Brahman families, who paid her, so that she had not been able to come, and that she could make more by reading, than by anything else. A class of such female readers, might be raised up in connexion with the missions, and be regularly employed, receiving a small salary, to enable them to give their time to the work. They ought, however, to be married women, and to be themselves well instructed in what they read, so as to be able to give some general explanations, where needful; and when any questions might be put to them, which they felt incompetent to answer, they could come to the missionaries, or to their wives, to have them solved. In this way, also, a sort of correspondence, on religious subjects, might be established, and an interest excited, where the missionary cannot personally obtain access, and where, even an European lady, would be looked on, with too much suspicion, were she to go often. Native female readers would also, in all probability, sometimes, open the way for the introduction of the missionary's wife, if not of the missionary himself.

As native prejudices give way in India, facilities are constantly increasing, for the propagation of the gospel, among the female population, without the regeneration of which, Christianity can never take a deep hold on the mind of the people. In some places, already, the natives are much more favourable to the education of the female part of the community, and are beginning to take some, though feeble, steps towards its promotion. It is only Christianity, however, that either will, or can thoroughly educate womankind, and raise her to her proper station in society, and we trust that the time is not far distant, when the women of India, so improvable by nature, will be elevated by Christian knowledge, and evangelical piety, to a high station, and a pure character. The work, however, is great, and will require much pains, and perseverance in its promoters, as well as great wisdom, in its management, but the results, though they may be slow in appearing, will be of the highest importance, in their bearing on the Christianization of India. At present, the women of India, taken as a whole, are more superstitious, and more under the influence of the Brahmans,

than the men generally are. This gives the Brahman a great advantage over the missionary. He has full access to the highest, as well as the lowest in female society, and his influence is usually much greater over them, than over the other sex, to whom alone the missionary has full access. This great disadvantage will no doubt be gradually overcome, and nothing would tend more to its complete removal, than the assistance of a good, efficient, pious and sensible, female agency, under the general direction of the missionary body.

CHAPTER XIX.

ORIGIN OF MORAL SENTIMENTS AMONG THE HINDOOS AND OTHER CIVILIZED HEATHEN NATIONS.—THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE EARLY SEATS OF PATRIARCHAL REVELATION.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED PAGAN NATIONS.—EARLY MIGRATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL RACES.—THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, AND OF DIVINE MORAL LAWS, NEVER LOST BY CIVILIZED NATIONS, THOUGH GREATLY OBSCURED.

FROM sundry remarks made in the preceding chapters, on the character and opinions of the Hindoos, and other inhabitants of India, and the incidental notices of their habits of life, religious sentiments, and social economy, it will be evident to every intelligent reader, that, though they are not possessed of the same sort of civilization as that prevalent in Europe, they are neither a rude, ignorant people, nor a nation sunk in savage barbarism, but that, from early ages, they have practised the ordinary arts of life, and been possessed, not only of the knowledge of letters, but, of written systems of religion, and of morals, as well as of philosophy and civil law.

The question, therefore, as to the origin of this state of things, becomes important, and interesting. Had the people of India never any basis of divine revelation, on which to build their systems of law, morals, and social order? Are their moral sentiments, religious rites, and domestic institutions, as well as their codes of jurisprudence (all professedly of divine origin, though in very many respects corrupted and defective), not in some measure, at least, derived from, or combined with the fragments of that primeval system of religious and moral law, which the notices contained in the earlier books of scripture, evidently show was possessed by the patriarchs of the human race, before the nations, generally, apostatized entirely from the true God, and perverted the original knowledge, which they possessed, from divine revelation, respecting his character and

the modes of his worship, into systems of gross delusion, and polluting idolatry?

That the human mind is so constituted as to be naturally capable of religion, and of distinguishing between right and wrong, is, in general, admitted. Some have supposed that it has a power of moral discrimination, entirely independent of all teaching; or a sort of moral sense, inseparable from its other faculties, by which it intuitively distinguishes between moral good or evil, in human actions, in some such way as the palate distinguishes diversities in taste. Others have regarded our moral sentiments, as originating in our perception of the good or evil consequences of certain actions, either to ourselves or others, deriving, gradually, strength and refinement, from education, experience, and example, combined with the constant exercise of our reasoning faculties, on moral subjects. One thing is certain, that whether man originally has, or has not, any distinctive perception of moral good or evil, or any instinctive discrimination respecting it, he never has been found in a state in which such a faculty could have been exercised, independently of instruction derived from others.

Man is necessarily a social being, and society, even in its most imperfect forms, cannot exist, without some individual self-restraint, and respect for the rights of others. Certain rules, of a moral nature must be recognised, as the basis of all social intercourse, or combination, even in the lowest states of savage life; and thus even the most imperfect forms of society must impose certain rules on the individual, giving him a species of moral education, to fit him, in some degree, for the duties of social life. In entering the world, therefore, even in the most rude and simple forms of society, every man is, for a time, the pupil of that society, and is educated, in some way or other, by it, in its most essential rules, till he is unconsciously assimilated to it in his sentiments and habits, and in his turn becomes the medium of communicating them to others. In all our reasonings, therefore, about man's ability, or inability, to form rules for the direction of his moral conduct, or to judge accurately on points of moral duty, we must remember that no indi-

vidual man, if we believe revelation, not even the first, was ever called on to judge or act for himself, without having previously received some measure of instruction; and no man ever had to exercise his own individual judgment, either on his own moral conduct, or on that of his fellow men, without that judgment being, in some degree, influenced, if not enlightened, by the current sentiments and laws of the community in which he lived, however small, or rude, that community might be, and however imperfectly its moral opinions might be either embodied, or expressed.

Of all creatures inhabiting this world, man alone is capable of judging of actions, as morally good or bad, irrespective of their immediate results, either to himself or others. He can, and does judge, either of his own, or his neighbour's conduct, and has certain principles, though he may not always be able to define them, on which he grounds either his approval or disapproval, whether that conduct is, or is not to himself, the immediate cause of either pleasure or pain; and whatever may be the consequences of an action, he almost instantly forms an opinion of its goodness or badness, without waiting to trace, or even so think of its effects, as desirable or undesirable. Hence it is, that he is at times, satisfied with some of his own actions, when they are most disadvantageous to his own interests, and at other times disapproves them, though they were the immediate cause of pleasure, or profit, to himself. A course of conduct also, which caused immediate pain, or even permanent inconvenience, becomes often to him the source of continued satisfaction; in consequence of the moral character with which, in his mind, it has become invested; and hence a generous action, or deed, which he regards as morally good, and would like others to perform to himself, is reflected on with pleasure, while the contrary is the source, to him, of chagrin, remorse, or self-disapprobation; though it may have greatly advanced some object which he had in view. Even an action, or course of conduct, immediately followed by results of a painful nature to himself, is at times the occasion of great self satisfaction, from the moral aspect alone, in which it is regarded.

That in various parts of the world, different opinions have been held on some points of morality, is a well known fact. This fact has, however, been greatly magnified by writers unfriendly to Christianity, though it is difficult to perceive how this could have promoted their object, the depreciation of the scriptures, unless it could be shown, that they contained in themselves, moral principles subversive of each other. The existence of error, on any subject, can never prove the non-existence of truth. Some actions are regarded as sinful in one country, that, in another, are looked on as indifferent, if not even innocent, and infidel writers have assumed that this is the case with respect to important or essential points of morality. This, however, is not the fact, though among the ruder nations it may be partially so; and though among all heathen nations there are, no doubt, great perversions on some points, not unimportant to morals in general, and to the real well-being of society. But the points on which such mistakes and errors exist, are far from numerous; and in reference to all the principal virtues, as well as vices, the sentiments of all the principal heathen nations, are not only nearly uniform among themselves, but not essentially different from those usually held, by the nations acknowledged to be, more or less, in the possession of divine revelation. From the earliest ages to the present, metaphysical speculations about virtue and vice have abounded among thinking men of all civilized nations,—and "What is truth?" and "What is good?" have always been questions of earnest discussion, in reference to moral subjects. But whatever may have been the sentiments on such points, advanced or taught by philosophers, either in Christian or heathen countries, in either ancient or modern times, the great masses of mankind in all civilized communities, have in all ages, on every point of importance in morality, held an uniformity of sentiments next to universal. Various philosophical systems have been formed in India, in which the distinction between virtue and vice has been denied; and it is rather remarkable that, the origin of such systems among the ancient Greeks, was by them traced to India, as well as the doctrine of the metempsychosis derived from the same source, and propagated

in Greece by Pythagoras and others. India, perhaps, is the only country where, from the peculiar tendency of the national mind, metaphysical speculations, and opinions about the abstract nature of virtue and vice, were ever, to any extent, prevalent among the common people. The Hindoos, as a people, are exceedingly addicted to such speculations, but even among them, they are not regarded as applicable to the ordinary business of life, but as very convenient in furnishing materials for ingenious and subtle argumentation, and quibbling, of which they are excessively fond. Of all the hundreds of Brahmans, and others, with whom I have discussed such subjects in public, I never met one, who did not acknowledge in private, that after all, the distinction between virtue and vice, was of an essential nature, though with respect to it, many vain and bewildering refinements, might be advanced, both pernicious, as well as puzzling to vulgar minds.

However defective the standard of morality may be in India, it is not so low as some have imagined, though it must be confessed, that the practice of morality is very deficient, and vice fearfully prevalent. This is not, however, in consequence of any want of the knowledge of what is right and wrong; but may be accounted for by the nature of the common religion, which, instead of bringing its sanctions, in general, to the support of sound morality, lends vice its powerful aid, in supplanting it, by substituting ceremonial observances, for obedience to well known moral laws. There is scarcely anything that would be regarded as a crime in England, that would not be regarded in the same light in India. Murder, theft, falsehood, hatred, strife, and violence, as well as adultery, fornication, incest, slander, and calumny, are universally condemned as sinful, and deserving of punishment, while on the other hand, benevolence, temperance, humility, truthfulness, honesty, fidelity, charity, obedience to parents and other superiors, are inculcated by Hindoo moralists, as well as by Christian, and the strict performance of all the duties arising out of these virtues, is as much approved, by the general sentiments of the people of India, as by those of the people of England.

The moral state of the people of India, must therefore, be judged of by entirely different principles, from those applicable to such isolated tribes of savages as have been found in some parts of the world; and who have been reported as so degraded in point of moral knowledge, that scarcely a trace of any system of moral sentiments, or laws, was to be found among them. Still the great readiness with which so many of such savages, have imbibed and understood, the moral instructions communicated to them by our missionary brethren, rather leads me to suspect, that their moral perceptions were not quite so defective, as they have been supposed to be; though from their barbarous and disorganized state, they had never been able to embody them in any system of laws, or even to give them any clear or definite expression, in such language as might make them distinctly intelligible to others.

Savages, in general, are unable fully to explain the principles on which they act. They are not accustomed to define the reasons of their conduct, even when their practice is the result of rules, or maxims, very current among themselves, and clearly apprehended in their own minds. A moral sentiment may often exist, and to a certain extent, be practically operative, where the power of embodying it in language, clearly intelligible, may be utterly wanting; and customs may exist, founded on maxims of law, where the maxims themselves are all rather understood than expressed. Even among ourselves, many individuals of the uneducated classes, know, and feel, a great deal more than they can utter in words, and how much more must this be the case among those small scattered tribes of savages, whose intercourse with their fellow men must be extremely rare, and, in general, have reference only to the simplest affairs of human life, in the most uncomplicated, and inartificial state of society. In this state of savage life, a great many of the actions of men seem to be little under the control of reason, and less under that of conscience, and to be often, apparently at least, almost entirely the result of unrestrained passion, and animal impulse. It must, however, be confessed, that but a very modified dependence can be placed on some of the representations given us of

the actual, and unmixed sentiments, of such tribes of savages. Of their awful and brutal ferocity, no doubt can be entertained, but still it must be admitted, that very few qualified persons have ever been able freely to converse with them in their original state, or before their opinions, at least, had received some slight modification from intercourse with other, and better instructed, men. After they had received new opinions, they could not very easily speak with entire accuracy respecting their old ones, and their new light, being such a contrast to their former darkness, they may, unconsciously, have had a disposition to describe their former state, as one of even greater destitution of every thing like moral knowledge than it really was. Perhaps it would have been next to impossible for them to have exaggerated, with respect to their awful practical degradation; for it seems almost impossible to conceive of human nature ever becoming more brutalized, than it was found to be among some of those savage tribes, to whom the gospel has come as a regenerating power; but still, it is perfectly possible, that when they experienced such a remarkable change, the state of their own feelings may have led them to regard, and represent, their former state, as to the mere theoretic knowledge of right and wrong, as actually lower than it really was.

Be this as it may, the extent of moral knowledge, among such tribes of uncivilized men, is not our subject of inquiry, as we are treating of the Hindoos; a people never separated from the great body of the human race, by whom divine traditions have undoubtedly been preserved, though corrupted. The state of such tribes, however, is not unimportant to our subject, as it shows the downward course of human nature, when left to pursue its own way without divine interposition. But in estimating the general moral state of the more important heathen nations, we must not confound it, with that of a few broken down fragments of savage tribes, to be found in isolated positions, or on the advanced frontiers of our colonies. These are generally migratory in their habits, and for the most part, exiles from the more ancient seats of their national traditions, most of which have been forgotten in their wanderings, in quest of the mere means of

subsistence. Few in number, scattered, and unsettled in their habits, and constantly in a state of warfare, they have scarcely any forms or institutions, in which mythological, historical, or ethical knowledge, could be preserved, during the exigencies of a life spent in hunting, or being hunted, over pathless deserts, or the still more trackless ocean. Among such tribes, only very indistinct notions of God, and of morality, may be expected, and as many of them are not in the habit of speaking on such subjects at all, it may often be difficult to find out what they really think. They have very few abstract ideas, on any subject, and on morals it is unlikely that they should have any. Though certain actions are disapproved and punished, at least occasionally, there is little discrimination as to their real character. It is not even from any sense of justice, that a crime is punished, but from a feeling of revenge, and hence the punishment is not proportioned to the magnitude of the crime, but to the power, or wrath, of the offended party, who is generally allowed to act, both as judge and executioner.

Still, however, even in such rude states of society, if society it can be called, which has no definite authority, either legislative or executive, there are some moral sentiments though imperfectly developed, ill expressed, and entirely unreduced to system. Law exists, though not in any consistent form, embodied, or enacted, by any competent authority. Its enforcement is at all times uncertain and capricious. The strong are always able to resist it, and even with respect to the *weak*, there is little consistency or uniformity in its administration. When the culprit is either a favourite, or powerful enough to be an object of fear, the law, even where it is generally understood, is evaded, or allowed to remain in abeyance; but when he happens to be disliked, and not powerful enough to be feared, it is often enforced with undue rigour or becomes the mere instrument, either of public, or of private revenge.

In such imperfectly organized communities, accurate moral discrimination, cannot be expected. A malignant action is, very often, not distinguished from one purely accidental, or unavoidable.

Hence murder and manslaughter, are sometimes visited by the same punishment; or a sort of asylum, afforded, especially to the latter, is the first step of progression to a transfer of punishment, from private hands, to a public tribunal. The rights of property, are generally ill defined, and even on the most trifling exigencies, are constantly violated; and stealing is regarded as quite venial, especially, if the article stolen, is not of absolute importance to its owner. The institution of marriage, which is the great foundation of civilized society, as well as of domestic happiness, exists in a very imperfect form, if, in any proper sense, it can be said to exist at all; and in general the obligations arising from family relationships, are but little felt; and social duties only so far performed, as they may coincide with the temporary interests, or present feelings, and inclinations of individuals. In this very defective state of human society, though there is nothing that can be called *an institution*, there is still something like moral discrimination. The motives of actions, though often overlooked, are sometimes taken into account, so that an action essentially the same, as viewed by itself, is differently judged of, according to circumstances. Thus, for instance, the man who kills another, who has merely provoked him by a few hasty words, would not be approved of; while he who puts another to death, who has plundered his property and slain his defenceless family, would be regarded as doing no wrong, but, on the contrary, as merely inflicting a deserved punishment. In the former case, the tribe, generally, would, very probably, even expel the offender, or allow him to be put to death by the friends of the deceased, unless he were a peculiar favourite, while the act of the latter, would be regarded as one of just retribution. Among such rude tribes, there are many crimes constantly occurring with impunity; but their perpetrators are not regarded as entirely blameless. In small communities, the spirit of partizanship, often, affords protection to the greatest criminal. Moral feelings are perverted by faction. But, apart from this, the organization of society is imperfect—the laws are ill defined; and there is not sufficient authority, either in the com-

munity, or in individuals, to inflict such punishment as the general sentiments would approve, or to shelter the inflictor of it from private revenge. The passions of the tribe are also in general, too much interested, for, or against the culprit, so that the judges are too readily swayed by their feelings, to admit of any thing like practical impartiality; but still, amidst all these unfavourable influences, even the rudest barbarians do not seem to be entirely destitute of moral perceptions; though sometimes ignorant of any thing like the sanctions, derived from the knowledge, and belief, of a future state. They are, therefore, able to distinguish between right and wrong, with respect to some important parts, at least, of their moral conduct.

Such barbarous communities are so often in a state of external war, or of internal feud and disorganization, that no sufficient authority anywhere exists, for the enforcement of any law whatever. The greatest criminals may remain unpunished, or retire with impunity beyond the limits of the tribe, or district; and when serious attempts are made to punish crime, they degenerate into mutual retaliation, which sometimes becomes so general, that whole tribes disappear, not so much exterminated by foreign enemies, as melted away by the fires of internal discord. There is, in fact, no evidence that any tribe, in the lowest grade of savage life, has maintained, for any length of time, a separate and independent existence as a community, while in that state. Almost all such tribes, known to exist at present, are evidently the fragments of broken up nations, once in a higher state of civilization, but who have been driven, by war, from their own country, or in consequence of a long series of troubles and misfortunes, have dwindled in numbers and retrograded in knowledge, and in the practice of the arts, till they have sunk too low to have any power of rising again, unless by external influence. This is, in general, their own account of the matter; and many of the laws and customs, as well as languages, found amongst them, evidently show that they once must have belonged to communities in a much higher state of civilization. The rapid disappearance of all such tribes, from the face of the

earth, not by absorption into more civilized communities, though this, to a small extent, has taken place, but chiefly from a principiple of internal decay and self-destruction, is a subject of painful interest at present, when the colonizing energies of civilized nations, are bearing down before them, nearly all the ruder and more isolated families of men. The almost entire incapacity of such tribes for amalgamation with the higher civilized races, renders their extirpation, at least as distinct races, almost certain, though many philanthropic efforts are being made to prevent it; and there seems to be but little doubt, that before long, almost every existing uncivilized tribe will become extinct. As more organized communities press upon them, and on their imperfect means of subsistence, they must perish; and unless some more effectual means than have been hitherto tried, be found out, not for securing their separate existence, but for promoting their absorption into our colonies, there seems to be little hope of preserving even the last fragments of races, that at one time seem to have occupied extensive regions.

Between the state of such savage tribes, and that of the Hindoos, as it respects moral knowledge, and consequent moral responsibility, the distance is immense. But still the question has often been asked respecting even the latter, "Have they any moral law, which can be considered as sufficiently distinct in its announcements, to constitute, for all practical purposes, a sufficient rule of life, or of moral conduct?" "Does that law, whether written or oral, distinguish, with general accuracy, between virtue and vice, so as to direct the popular judgment correctly, in its verdict respecting the moral actions of men? Have the people a conscience, capable in general of "accusing or excusing" them, with sufficient accuracy to render them reasonably responsible for their ordinary actions?

Here it is taken for granted, that where there is no moral perception, there can be no moral accountablness. Where there is no law, there can be no transgression of the law; and a law that is unknown, is the same, as far as the person ignorant of it is concerned, as if it did not exist. The ignorance of its enactment,

however, may be either directly or indirectly voluntary, and voluntary ignorance of a duty, is voluntary neglect of a duty, and is, of itself culpable, on account of the disposition from which it springs. I am, therefore, held as bound to obey the laws of my country, whether I know them or not; because, as these laws have been publicly made, and generally promulgated, I had the same opportunity, had I improved it, as others, of becoming acquainted with them; and to have duly informed myself respecting them, was part of my duty, as a good and loyal subject.

Cases, however, may, and often do occur, in which ignorance may be involuntary, and consequently, in such cases, though it may be necessary that laws should be enforced, to maintain their dignity, and regularity of administration, an infringement of them from such ignorance, may not be a direct moral delinquency. It is obvious, however, that this can be the case in reference to such actions only, as previously to some definite enactment, were not held to be illegal, or morally wrong. But there are many actions, that infringe on moral laws, so universally known, and understood, that no positive enactments are required to express them, as it is utterly impossible that ignorance, can ever be pleaded respecting them, unless in such cases of mental derangement, as are universally believed to lessen guilt, if not even entirely to absolve from moral accountableness.

It is not, however, often, that want of information respecting an existing law, can be safely admitted, as a plea even in mitigation of the guilt of its violation; for were it so admitted, the ill disposed, would not only plead ignorance of their duty, but purposely remain ignorant, by refusing to read, or inform themselves of, the law. A knowledge of the law, instead of being cultivated, would be avoided, in order that at some time, ignorance might be pleaded, as an excuse for transgression. The acquisition of such knowledge, as may be required for the performance of his ordinary duties, becomes therefore, an important, and necessary part of every man's duty; and unless it can be shown, that ignorance of duty was unavoidable, even after the most strenuous efforts for its removal,

it must be regarded as wilfully chosen, or at least wilfully submitted to, and therefore, the result of a blameworthy state of mind. But men very rarely, in any state of civilized society, plead ignorance of any important principle of right or wrong, though they may often do so with truth, in respect to positive statute laws, on subjects of secondary importance, or of circumstantial, or temporary utility. Such laws are not, in their nature, either of universal, or permanent obligation; and though often useful to society, are essential, neither to its existence, nor well-being. Their repeal or modification, may sometimes be desirable, and though obedience to them, while they are in force, becomes a moral duty, to every individual living in society, they can never occupy the same place in his conscience, which is claimed, by laws of a more essential character, founded on the very first principles of truth and virtue; and without which it would be impossible for men to live with safety, or comfort, in communities of considerable extent; or to enjoy the benefit of general social combination.

Hence it is, that, in no civilized country, is the idea of pleading ignorance of right or wrong, on any important moral subject, ever for a moment entertained. Such excuses as are grounded on alledged ignorance of important moral distinctions, are so palpably inadmissible, that no one, convicted of crime, ever brings them forward in self-defence. He may, and often does, plead the force of numerous temptations, and of many circumstances peculiar to his case, in mitigation of his guilt, but he never maintains, that, in committing murder, robbery, or theft, he was ignorant of such actions being evil, or contrary to law. His conscience may be ever so ill informed, and his heart may be ever so much hardened by crime, but if he has violated any such essential moral law, he can never, in his own mind, thoroughly approve of what he has done. Sometimes, indeed, when he may have acted under the influence of feelings of long cherished hatred, or revenge, or even of national or factional animosity, he may continue to be so misled by such passions, or sentiments, as to attempt to justify what he has done, or even to rejoice in the perpetration of deeds, regarded by

others as in the highest degree criminal; but, on sober reflection, it is impossible for him not to feel, that in some way or other his conduct is evil, and justly renders him an object of punishment. His passions may be so excited that he may even choose to bear the penalty of a crime, rather than not accomplish his object; but, after due time for reflection, he is seldom free from self-reproach. Hence it not unfrequently happens, that crimes, after being long concealed, are voluntarily confessed by criminals themselves, who have suffered so much from the stings of conscience, that they have preferred even ignominy and death, to that state of mental agony which guilt had entailed upon them. A course of crime long protracted, may greatly harden the heart, and destroy moral sensibility, but is seldom or never sufficient, entirely to eradicate from the mind a general feeling of self-condemnation.

It, therefore, becomes a question of some interest, whether or not such moral sentiments and feelings are essential to man as such. It has been maintained by some, that moral sentiments are derived entirely from revelation; while, by others, man has been represented, not only as a being naturally capable of perceiving and appreciating correct moral sentiments, but as having himself evolved them out of the principles of his own nature, so as not to have, at any time, been dependent on divine illumination, or direction, for his knowledge of good or evil. Man is, by such, supposed to be so constituted, that, however much he may be perverted and demoralized, he still has, in his own mind, a certain standard by which, if he chooses to apply it, he may judge correctly of moral actions, and which will be quite sufficient to direct him in the way of obedience to every universal law of God, without any extraneous teaching, or direct divine revelation.

That moral feelings and sentiments exist universally among men, in a state of more or less development, is now generally acknowledged, though among a few savage tribes, they are very imperfectly manifested, and have, therefore, by some, been supposed not to exist at all. Indeed the human mind seems to be so constituted, that these feelings can scarcely ever be entirely absent, unless

where there is a degree of mental imbecility. This seems to be the doctrine of scripture on the subject, as well as that of the most judicious writers on morals. The apostle Paul speaks of the Gentiles as having "the work of the law written upon their hearts, so that their conscience bears witness, and their thoughts accuse, or excuse one another." But how far this conscience of good and evil in moral actions, is itself the result of teaching, or that of the natural exercise of the human understanding, on moral subjects, it is impossible to determine, as no individual of the human race, could ever have been led to reason on such subjects at all, without his being first in society, and more or less instructed, and influenced, by the sentiments and practice of others. Men never could have had moral sentiments, but as members of society, and such could not, therefore, have originated in any single mind, so as to have been conveyed from that mind to others. The first elements, at least, of moral sentiments, must have been either inherent in the nature of man, or communicated to him in some form or other, by an original revelation from his Creator; and it seems most likely that not only was man created with faculties naturally adapted to the perception of moral truth, but that the great outlines of moral law, were directly, and authoritatively, communicated by divine revelation, both before the fall, and afterwards, in the primeval ages of the world, so that, from the first, the highest sanction was given to every important principle of morals; a sanction, which continued to be generally acknowledged among all the important nations of antiquity, and is still to be traced in the mythological origin assigned to all their ancient codes of laws and moral precepts, though the original, or previous, forms of the earliest, or patriarchal system, have been universally lost, or forgotten.

This view of the subject seems to agree, naturally, with the scriptural account of the original state of man. Adam had direct communications from heaven, both before and after the fall. Before that event, there can be little doubt, but a divine law was given him, for the general direction of his conduct, with which, in his original state of purity, his nature was in complete harmony. It is not

very natural to suppose, that the only law, or injunction, ever given to Adam, in a state of innocence, was, that positive one which related to the tree of knowledge, and which alone is recorded, on account of its violation, and the awful consequences by which it was followed. It seems highly probable, that he had more to direct him than the mere affinities of his nature, however pure those affinities, or inclinations, may have been, and however much averse from evil, and disposed towards good; for as a being of limited capacity, no dispositions, however pure, could of themselves, in all conceivable circumstances, have formed an infallible rule of moral conduct. Apart, therefore, from his own natural tendencies, in a state of innocence, it is in the highest degree probable, that he had rules of life given him by divine inspiration, or enjoined by revelation; and though, by the fall, his moral nature was entirely vitiated, it is not natural to suppose, that the very knowledge of the divine moral law, which he had received, and on which he had acted, and thought, before he sinned, should have become at once entirely erased from his mind. The disposition to obey the divine law, had indeed been lost, but the mere knowledge of the law itself, must have, to a considerable extent, remained, and been in some measure transmitted to future generations, though constantly losing its hold on the conscience, and becoming more and more corrupt, or obscure.

It is not here necessary to suppose the existence of a written law, or even of an oral law, of an extensive, minute, or complicated nature; but that man was, in some way or other, instructed in the will of his Creator, with respect to right or wrong, in his actions—or moral good and evil—in his conduct, as a rational being, naturally capable of either, seems almost certain from the revealed fact, that he had direct communications from God, both before the fall, and immediately after. In fact the very knowledge, which it is presumed he had, of the divine existence and character, necessarily involves the knowledge of what is morally right. To know the attributes of God, is to know what is true, pure, and good; and therefore, while sin might be unknown to sinless Adam, holiness

could not be unknown; nor could the subsequent knowledge and practice of moral evil, obliterate from his mind the actual knowledge of what was morally good, though he had ceased to love, or to practise it. The mind of the first man must, therefore, have been the depository of all the principal elements of moral truth, and it is natural to suppose, that these elements must have been, in one form or another, however imperfectly, transmitted to his descendants, many generations of whom had risen to maturity, before he returned to the dust, from which he was formed.

The first crime of which we are informed, after the fall, was fratricide. In this case, by a direct divine decision, no doubt communicated in a manner sufficiently impressive and intelligible to the human family, then few in number, the criminal was condemned to be an exile and vagabond, excluded from all the protection, and privileges of society. We see here, in the case of murder, the divine promulgation, and enforcement, of a law absolutely necessary to the safety and existence of all organized human society; and is it not probable, that, in the infancy of the world, men were, occasionally at least, in other instances, directed by the supreme judge, in deciding on cases of crimes affecting the very existence of society, and the safety and well-being of human life? In the first ages of the world, the laws of divine appointment may have been very few and simple, and directed merely to the prevention of some of the most outrageous crimes; but even if they referred to murder alone, in its various forms, they must have contained in them the germ, and principle, of all moral institutes. A law, merely for the suppression, and punishment of murder, naturally leads to the establishment and recognition of an authority in society, or in the moral sentiments of men, for the prevention of murder at least; and, consequently, of other crimes connected with, or leading to its perpetration, and the experience of society would soon lead it to visit with the same, or with mitigated penalties, the various offences out of which that greatest of all crimes, already so marked out by the divine vengeance, is generally found to proceed.

Without, therefore, supposing the existence, at an early period, of

any extensive revelation of a divine moral law, forming the basis of all human moral knowledge, we have at least, in the divine decision in the case of the eldest son of the first man, a fundamental moral law, both the enactment and enforcement of which, must have been known to every one of the human family, as the occasion of it must have made an indelible impression on the minds of all; and the brand fixed on the first murderer, must have marked, in a manner, never to be effaced from the human mind, the divine indignation against his crime. The sinfulness of murder, and of the crimes and passions leading to it, could not fail to be perceived, and thus a conscience, either accusing or excusing, with respect to them, must have at once been produced in the human mind. The fact, that Adam had divine communications before the fall, seems not only to imply that he had information about right and wrong, but that he had also received directions about divine worship. But whether he had then received any such directions or not, it seems next to certain, that he must have done so soon after the fall; as the early institution of sacrifices proves, that, with respect to them, at least, a positive revelation must have been received, either by Adam, or his sons. Nothing can be more irrational, than to suppose that the first sacrifices were presented without any divine command, especially, as we are informed that one kind of offering was approved and accepted by God, and the other was not. The one must have been presented in accordance with the rules laid down in the revealed law on the subject, and was, therefore, accepted as an act of devotion, expressive of faith and obedience; and the other was rejected, because it was not offered in a manner agreeable to the instituted ritual, while the sentiments of the offerer, had no due reference to the real object of the divine appointment, in consequence of which alone, it was rendered lawful to present an offering, or sacrifice, at all. It seems unnatural to suppose, that, in the very first age of the world, man, of himself, should have adopted the opinion, that the Creator could be conciliated by the destruction of his own unoffending creatures; and the simple fact that such a mode of worship was resorted to, by the first of men, seems, of itself, sufficient to convince us, that be-

fore it was practised, a divine revelation, enjoining and regulating it, had been previously received. If a revelation had been thus early received, communicating a ritual for divine worship, it is difficult to conceive that the great outlines, at least, of moral institutes, had not in a similar manner been taught, especially, as we find a distinct law with respect to murder, actually enforced—and also that in the subsequent Mosaic revelation, the ritual, and moral parts of the divine law, are not only connected, but blended together.

That men should have been directed to perform, in a given way, a number of religious rites, without any idea being communicated to them respecting their meaning and object, it is not easy to believe; and it is equally difficult to suppose, that the regulation of emblematical rites, should have been made the sole matter of revelation, while men were left without any indication of the divine will, with respect to their moral conduct. Is it likely that men should have been directed to offer sacrifices, without any explanation of their meaning or object? and when they were ordered to present them as an atonement for their sins, is it at all probable that no moral law had been given, by which it might be known what actions were sinful, so as to require, for their purgation, the presentation of appointed sacrificial victims?

It is plainly stated in scripture, that in the antediluvian world, the great mass of mankind departed from the worship and fear of God, and practised the grossest vices. That some, however, continued stedfast in the true faith, is also clearly intimated. "Enoch walked with God," and Noah was righteous and a "preacher of righteousness." We have no means, however, of ascertaing the extent of their knowledge, either of God, or of moral truth. In their faith or religious belief, they, no doubt, adhered to those doctrines respecting God and his law, which had been revealed to their fathers, or more immediately to themselves; and, in divine worship they, doubtless, observed such rites as had been divinely enjoined, and established, and were consequently acceptable to the supreme object of their sincere devotion—God, the Creator and

Preserver of all! That the antediluvian Patriarchs—the men who continued true to the primative faith, did worship the Living and only God, and none but Him—is certain; and that this worship was presented in a way, which, though not fully recorded, had been divinely instituted, and was entirely acceptable to God, it seems impossible to doubt.

The flood, again, reduced the human race to a single family, in which the knowledge of the true God, and of his moral law, was certainly preserved. We have reason to believe, also, that a divinely appointed ritual of worship existed, perhaps not in a written form, but transmitted orally from age to age, by the Patriarchs of the race. In considering this new state of things, out of which all the ancient systems of paganism gradually arose, we have first to turn our attention to the state and character of Noah's family, which, according to the sacred narrative, consisted of eight persons. Some, indeed, have supposed, that, in addition to these, there were some others, servants or dependents, whom it is not usual, in such cases, to mention; but of this there is no evidencew hatever.

It becomes a point of no small importance, in endeavouring to account for the speedy corruption of the world, after the flood, to enquire,—What was the state of religion and morality in the family of Noah? Was that family composed entirely of devout persons, like the Patriarch himself, or was it tainted, in some degree, with the vices of the antediluvian world, in which we are told, that "all flesh had corrupted its ways." The sacred writer informs us, that the character of Noah, as the only individual who still continued to practise righteousness, or to worship God acceptably, was the cause of his being saved. Whether or not his sons were, any of them, of the same character, personally, we are not certain. Noah was, however, both a believer in the true God, and a "preacher of righteousness," or of that system of religion, and morals, then revealed. He was accepted, and his family was preserved, on account of his faith, in what was then known, or revealed, respecting God, and his law, and his worship; whatever may have been the extent of that knowledge of divine truth, which, either he or others, at that

time, possessed. But, whatever may have been the actual character and amount of the divine communications, made to the ancesters of of Noah, and preserved by him, or received directly by himself, there can be little doubt but they contained, both a directory for divine worship, and a code of moral rules, for in the whole course of the subsequent patriarchal history, it seems to be always taken for granted, not only that the true God was known, before the time of Moses, but that there were everywhere, well known forms of worship, and acknowledged laws of morality. These laws were constantly acted on by the Patriarchs, while we find them also in the usual practice of the divinely appointed rite of sacrifice; and, even among the corrupt tribes of Canaan, we find a recognition of the true God, as giving his sanction to oaths, and solemn compacts. That the infant nations were, even in the days of Abraham, rapidly degenerating into gross superstition, and open vice, is every where manifest; but this was evidently in defiance of laws and precepts of divine origin, not obscurely revealed to a few, but generally known and understood. There was, in short, a system of religious worship and moral principles from which, as early as the time of Abraham, a large portion of mankind departed, not ignorantly, but wilfully; so that leaving the true religion, and falling into idolatrous practices, was the result of a deterioration of morals, altogether without excuse, and is, therefore, always condemned, as an open and deliberate rebellion against the well known laws of God. Idolatry is never, at least in its origin, represented as the result of ignorance, but of vice. It never could have been adopted from ignorance, though it may often be continued from the want of knowledge of any better mode of worship; but in no civilized country has it ever existed, without being, more or less, strongly protested against, by many of the wisest and best of the community. Its principal recommendation in almost every country, down to the present day, has been, that its services are a system of public amusement, or of licentious indulgence; so that, in some parts of the world, to be religious and to be of loose morals, are almost equivalent terms, while to be sceptical respecting the popular religion, or prevalent superstitions, is a

mark of a mind superior to the gross and immoral practices, usually connected with idolatrous rites. This has always been, and is still the case, in India. Idolatry, as publicly practised, has never been the religion of the most learned, though for interested and social purposes, they may very often, not only have publicly acquiesced in it, but even bestowed on it encouragement and patronage.

The first thing that Noah did after the flood, was to "build an altar unto the Lord," and not to any one, or more inferior deities; and upon that altar he presented offerings "of every clean beast, and of every fowl"—the same ritual being observed, apparently, as that afterwards confirmed by Moses; so that it seems impossible to regard the ceremonial here practised as of mere human institution, as the same general rules were acted on by Noah, that were afterwards more fully defined, in the sacred writings still extant. The distinction between clean and unclean animals; that is, between such as may, or may not, be lawfully used in sacrifices, was evidently anterior to the Moaiac dispensation, and was not peculiar to the suplementary Israelitish law; but was derived from the still more ancient revelations, originally given to the human race; and the presenting of unclean things in sacrifice was a part of the earliest apostasy of the nations, as well as their presenting them to "demons, or inferior imaginary deities, and not to God." It is, therefore, evident that the true God, and his worship, were known, in the ages that preceded and followed the flood, and that divine revelation was possessed; and that, whatever may have been the extent of that revelation, it, most probably, contained sufficient instruction in the rules of morality, to direct men in all important particulars, so as to leave them inexcusable on the ground of any alleged ignorance of right and wrong. Before the divergence of the human family, therefore, into different branches, so as to originate separate nations, all its members were possessed of the knowledge of the true God, a divinely instituted religion, and a moral law, for the general guidance of their conduct; so that none of the ancestors of the human race, after the flood, were left, with respect to any of these things, entirely destitute of divine revelation.

CHAPTER XX.

REMARKS ON THE MIGRATIONS OF THE HAMETIC NATIONS.—THEIR EXPULSION FROM ASIA AND SETTLEMENT IN AFRICA.—SEATS OF THE SEMETIC RACE SOUTH OF THE CAUCASUS.—JAPHETIC OR INDO-EUROPEAN RACES.—THEIR EARLY MIGRATIONS.—CELTS NOT A SEPARATE RACE, AS PROVED BY A COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE WITH THOSE OF THE OTHER EUROPEAN AND INDIAN NATIONS.—BRAHMANS AND KHATRIAS OF INDIA.—MEDO-BACTRIAN ORIGIN.

THE sin of drunkenness, into which Noah fell some time after the flood, occasioned a peculiar manifestation of the characters of his sons. Two of them, Shem and Japhet, who seem to have been virtuous men, were naturally much grieved at their father's sin, and the indecent exposure which it had occasioned. They were, therefore, anxious to conceal it, both from their own eyes, and from those of others, while their brother Ham, who probably had led a profligate life, and been, therefore, subjected to reproof, would seem to have taken a malignant pleasure in his father's unhappy fall, and published it as the subject of ridicule, or perhaps of triumph. How long it was after the flood when this affair happened, we have no means of ascertaining, but it probably was a good many years; as Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, who is not spoken of as having had any sons while in the ark, is singled out as the special object of the paternal imprecation. This remarkable curse, generally regarded as prophetical, may, therefore, be considered as having been pronounced several years at least after the flood, when the human family had increased to a considerable, though as yet undivided community, still perhaps inhabiting the mountain range, on which the ark had grounded.

The question here naturally suggests itself—Was not the curse pronounced on Ham for his unfilial conduct, a real sentence of excommunication, or exile, from all the privileges of society as

then existing? It seems very probable that it was so. Ham was already at the head of a considerable family, though it is difficult to conceive why his fourth son Canaan, should have been singled out, as a peculiar object of the curse, unless it be supposed, that he was old enough to have been a sharer of his father's guilt; which would place the event a good many years after the flood. But however long it may have been, Noah was evidently still the sole patriarchal sovereign of the whole human race; and the sentence pronounced by him on Ham, must have been at once effective, in cutting off both him and his family, from all the important privileges of the only, central, and organized community of men, which had then been formed, and of which Noah was still the chief. The event was, therefore, not improbably, the first cause of premature colonization, and the consequent barbarism of some of the earliest nations, by the breaking up of the first human post-diluvian society; and at the same time the origin of a religious apostasy, which ultimately produced among the Hametic nations, the most licentious and degrading systems of idolatry, which the world has ever seen.

The family of Ham seems, therefore, to have been the first that migrated from the primeval seats of mankind, in the elevated regions of western Asia, near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Their course would seem to have been chiefly along the banks of these rivers—where we find their earliest seats, and where they engaged in the project of building the tower of Babel, and thence were dispersed in various directions. Passing, from the lower Euphrates, along the shores of the Persian Gulph, where some of the earliest traces of human habitation are still to be seen, they peopled the coasts of eastern Arabia, and passing the narrow straits, at the mouth of the Red Sea, first colonized north-eastern Africa, still known by the name of Habash, derived most probably from Shaba, the ancient name of Abysinia, including part of Uman or south-eastern Arabia. This name was given no doubt to the whole region, from its being chiefly peopled by that branch of the Cuthites, descended from Shaba the grandson of Ham, from whom

most of the barbarous nations inhabiting eastern Africa would seem to have sprung. The name Habash is not only still applied, in the East, to that part of Africa, but often to the whole continent.

Other branches of the family of Ham took a direction more to the south-west, and at a very early period colonized the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, or the countries of Syria and Palestine; sea coasts and banks of rivers, being very naturally colonized before other regions, in consequence of their being most accessible. These Hamite tribes of Canaan, especially, seem to have had at first a semi-republician form of government, having chiefs or kings, not entirely independent of the suffrages of the people. Still there seems to have been among them a general tendency to absolute monarchy. From the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, they appear, at a very early period, to have passed into Egypt, where their first great civilized kingdom was formed, and thence ultimately te have colonized the extensive regions of northern, and western Africa. In the absence, however, of all traces of history, it is impossible even to conjecture, when the various nations of that great continent reached their present seats, and sunk to their present state of barbarism. In all countries, conquest, and colonization have always rolled on in successive waves, each wave absorbing, or breaking, and scattering into insignificant portions, the one that preceded it;—and of such broken fragments of earlier nations, the uncivilized tribes of southern Africa, and other countries seem to consist. But from Egypt, no sufficiently powerful tide of civilized migration, ever rolled into Africa, either to displace, or absorb, its barbarism; for whatever may have been the civilization of ancient Egypt, or of other parts of northern Africa, it never seems to have had a power sufficiently expansive, to extend itself southward, in the track of the more early and rude colonists of that great continent; and thus to connect them with the general civilization of the world. Physicial obstacles had, no doubt, much influence, in preventing the extension, to the south, of Egyptian civilization; but probably the system of caste, prevalent on the banks of the Nile, led, as it has

done, on those of the Ganges, to that early cessation of all progress, which resulted in the shutting out of civilization from the interior of Africa; and ultimately to the comparative barbarism of Egypt itself.

From that invaluable fragment of early history, contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis, so remarkably corroborated by modern research, we learn that Cush the eldest son of Ham, settled with his descendants on the banks of the Tigris, or between that river and the Euphrates, while the other branches of the same family took a more southerly direction. His son Nimrod we are told was the founder of a kingdom, probably the first that ever existed, and seems to have been so, by subjecting others to his authority, by aggression and violence. We are told that he built Babel, or Babylon. He was, therefore, probably the leader of the party, whose language was confounded, in attempting to erect a tower or fortress, for the purpose of securing universal dominion. He is called a mighty hunter, possibly from his prowess in the destruction of dangerous animals, but more likely from his being a hunter of men, or a powerful marauder, whose deeds of violence established his authority over the then thinly peopled regions around, and first led to the concentration of men, in fortified cities, for mutual defence; and consequently to the formation of larger and more powerful communities than, at that early period, had ever existed, before—communities aiming at universal empire; their strong holds, being designed to secure them against the combined vengeance of those who might be provoked by their lawless agressions.

One of the most ancient cities of the world was Nineveh, founded by Asshur, from whom the Assyrian empire derived both its origin and name. He is mentioned as going forth from the land of Shinar, and building Nineveh, and several other cities, on the Euphrates and Tigris, which makes it somewhat doubtful, whether or not he was the same Asshur who is referred to as the second son of Shem. If, however, he was the same Asshur, it shows that the Assyrians were, in general, of the Semetic race, as were, probably from their language, the tribes of the Chaldeans, so that it becomes highly pro-

bable that the descendents of Ham never possessed any of the countries on the upper Euphrates, and Tigris, though they held, for a long period, the provinces farther down these rivers, Babylon being their chief city, and the centre of their power; from which they were ultimately driven by the Medes and Persians, the descendants of Japhet, mixed with the Elamites, a tribe of the progeny of Shem, inhabiting the country to the north-east of the Tigris, between Media Magna and the Persian Gulph. There is every reason to believe that the same races occupy the same regions to the present day, being partly of Semetic, and partly of Japhetic origin—thus forming a class of nations between the Caspian Sea, and the Persian Gulph, consisting of a mixture of the pure Semetic, with the Indo-European races, with whom they border, and by whom they have been frequently conquered, and ruled; while the more southern tribes of the Arabian Peninsula have remained, to the present day, almost purely Semetic.

The second son of Ham, Misr, or Misraim, or, rather, his descendants, migrated more to the south-west than the Cuthites, and seem to have colonized Egypt, and the parts of Africa to the westward; while the tribes descended from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, settled, as we have seen, in Palestine, and other districts on the shores of the Mediterranean. Afterwards, on being, for the most part, expelled by the Israelites, they retired into northern Africa, and formed the state of Carthage, and other colonies. A portion of the original stock, however, long continued to flourish on the coast of Palestine, especially in the commercial cities of Tyre and Sidon, till, on the ruin of those cities, they fled into their African colonies, or became mixed with the conquering nations of another race.

Phut, the third son of Ham, is not mentioned as having had any sons. If he had any descendants, they may have been too insignificant to be worthy of mention, or been absorbed among other cognate tribes; or, it is possible, that they may have been the progenitors of some of the smaller, or uncivilized tribes, whose names have been passed over, as they never held any distinguished place in history.

It would thus seem that the descendants of Ham, as far as they continued together in organized communities, migrated, in general, towards the south; nor can it easily be doubted, that, from the earliest ages, they have formed the basis of the population of Africa; though other races have occasionally had a footing in some of the northern parts of that great continent, where both the Semetic races from Asia, and the Japhetic from Europe, have, at times, had the governmental ascendency, though they never constituted a large portion of the people, in any African country. And although the descendants of Ham, at first, peopled a large portion of south-western Asia, from the Euphrates and Tigris to the Red Sea, they were early expelled from those regions, and passed into Africa, where they are still to be found; and though fragments of the race may still exist in Asia, it is not probable that any great Asiatic people is of anything like pure Hametic descent.

That the nations descended from Ham were the first who openly departed from the true patriarchal religion, simplicity of manners, and purity of morals, seems to be most evident from all tradition; and that they were, even in the earliest ages, the most depraved and licentious of the human race, and the most addicted to the impurest kinds of idolatry, and most likely the originators of idolatry itself; the Mosaic scriptures, and the whole course of sacred history, bear constant witness; and the idolatries of most other nations, are, more or less, traceable to this apostate race. It was, no doubt, on this account, that their possessions in Asia, were, by divine interposition, transferred to the descendants of Abraham—a worshipper of the true God, and a member of the family of Shem. The abominations practised by them, were always held up to the abhorrence of the worshippers of Jehovah, and the imitation of them was most strictly forbidden, and most severely punished; while their expulsion, by miraculous means, from the land which they once possessed, was always referred to, as a salutary warning against their gross idolatry, and its accompanying licentiousness. Palestine, and the neighbouring country of Egypt, both peopled by the race of Ham, would seem to have been the first to become thoroughly cor-

rupted, and depraved, both in religion and morals. But this race has, for more than two thousand years, perished from the soil of Palastine, and in Egypt has sunk to be the slaves of generation after generation, either of Semetic or Japhetic conquerors; while the degradation and woes of the other regions of Africa, in all past ages, have awfully fulfilled the prophetic curse of Noah on his undutiful son—"A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren."

Besides the greater nations, constituting the main body of the Hametic race, it would seem not improbable, that there were many smaller tribes of them, who, migrating in various directions, originated a number of the barbarous races, forming the aborigines of countries afterwards conquered and colonized by more civilized nations. Not a few of these tribes would seem to have been separated from the main body of mankind, while civil institutions, were but in their infancy, and before any definite systems of religious knowledge, or philisophical doctrines had been formed. Many of them were, no doubt, exiles driven out from society, in consequence of crimes or insubordination; and hence they naturally acquired a very unsocial character, which led them to increase more and more in ferocity, while their habits of life,—the privation to which they were exposed,—as well as the unnatural proximity of relationship between the sexes, occasioned in the course of ages of residence, or wandering in uncultivated wilds, the gradual development of physical peculiarities, in each separate family, or tribe, sufficiently distinct to give it the appearance of having had a different origin, from the main body of mankind.

While the languages spoken by the principal civilized nations, continued to be comparatively few, and to have a close affinity to each other, these scattered tribes, having but few wants and very little intercourse with others, gradually lost, or corrupted their original dialects, till they retained but few traces of their connexion with the languages of other nations. When once the more powerful civilized races began to extend themselves, it seems to have been gradually, and in regularly organized bodies, who easily conquered and subverted the ruder tribes by whom they had been

preceded. Extermination sometimes took place, but more frequently the earlier inhabitants of the countries, subdued and recolonized, were turned into a servile race. Many of them retired, or were driven into mountain fastnesses, where they are still to be found, over all eastern Asia, from the Taurus to cape Comorin, as well as along all the mountain ranges on the frontiers of India, Turkestán, and China. They differ widely in physical form, features and colour, as well as in language, manners, and religion, from all the more civilized nations inhabiting the plains; but that at an early period they were the sole possessors of many of those regions, there can be little reason to doubt, whatever opinion may be formed respecting their origin. Their general resemblance to the Hametic nations of Africa, though none of them are of the pure negro type, in its full development, favours the opinion that, in part at least, they are of the same original stock; while the darkness of their complexion, is much greater than that of the regular Hindoo tribes, and other nations of Japhetic, or Caucasian origin, who seem to have reached their present seats at a later period, by successive migrations, each migration forming the basis of a caste. These migrations of the more civilized Caucasian nations, probably, however, were very gradual movements from the vast regions of central Asia, towards the more fertile plains of India, not of savage hordes, but of civilized bodies of men, carrying with them the arts of life, and perhaps even the knowledge of letters. Though it may be admitted that the laws of Manu, and other monuments of ancient Hindoo literature, bear evident marks of having been actually produced in India, and not in central Asia, before the Hindoo race had settled to the south of the Hamalaya mountains, yet there is no trace of their civilization having originated in India, but all their traditions refer, more or less, to the north and north-west; or the regions between India and the Caucasus, beyond the lofty Kailâsa, on whose snowy peak the gods and deified progenitors, or patriarchs, of mankind, sit enthroned in glory, above the reach of mortal vision. Though there may be, therefore, a considerable mixture of Hametic tribes among the aborigines of

India, there can be little doubt but the higher or purer castes of Hindoos, are of Caucasian—and more particularly of Japhetic origin, and consequently of the same great family, with the nations of Europe.

We have already seen that the tribes descended from Ham, generally, migrated towards the south and south-west, and were gradually followed by the Semetic tribes, who, from a very early period, had possessions in the same direction, as Syria received its name of Aram, from Aram, the youngest son of Shem. Ultimately, the descendants of Shem, entirely expelled the Hamites from their Asiatic possessions, having driven the greater part of them into Africa, where they still form the mass of the population. The Semetic nations continue to occupy the same countries thus taken possession of by them at an early period, as, with a slight intermixture, of Turks, and other Japhetic races, they still form the population of the Arabian peninsula, as well as of most of the other countries south of the Taurus.

While the Semetic nations thus settled in their present abodes, in the south-western parts of Asia, the numerous tribes descended from Japhet took various directions, along the mountain ranges and high table land of central Asia, colonizing the countries near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the shores of the Caspian and Black Sea, both of which they had peopled at a period long before the dawn of authentic history. Passing along the great rivers that fall into those seas, they gradually peopled most of Asia Minor, and the various countries of Europe, to the west and north-west. The Celts, who were the earliest inhabitants of western Europe, where several nations of them are still found, seem to have spread themselves to the westward, at a very early age, carrying with them the patriarchal forms of society, being ruled by hereditary chieftains, similar to those among the Semetic tribes in the days of Abraham, and still existing among the Bidáwin Arabs and Turkomans.

At the earliest historical period, the Celtic races occupied nearly the same regions in which they are still to be found. Herodotus mentions them as dwelling about the sources of the Ister, and near

the Pyrenees; and it is unknown how many ages they may have been there, before the time of this most ancient historian. Britain was, likely, also peopled, at an equally early period, by the same race; as tin, supposed to have been first brought from Cornwal by the Tyrians, was in use, in western Asia, during the Trojan war.

Some have supposed the Celts to be of Semetic origin, from their physical characteristics, as well as from their patriarchal forms of government. The former, however, is more a fanciful than a real resemblance; and the latter may be equally well accounted for by the probable fact, that they had left the primeval seats of the Japhetic, or Indo-European race, before its institutions were developed, and while the patriarchal forms of government were still general, as they probably continued to be for some centuries after the flood. That the Celtic languages are not of the Semetic, but of the Indo-European, or Japhetic class, has now been clearly established; so that there can be little doubt but that the dialects spoken on the mountains of Wales and of Scotland, have a much nearer relationship to those used on the banks of the Ganges, and Jumna, than to those heard on the shores of the Red Sea, or the Jordan.

Many other tribes, besides the Celtic, would appear to have spread from the Caucasus to the west and north-west, at a very early age. The various families that ultimately formed the Germanic nations, inhabited different parts of the north-east of Europe, and north-west of Asia, and were in gradual progress towards the west and south, long before any history was written; but the great stem of the Japhetic race, though sending forth offshoots principally to the west and east, would seem to have long continued to occupy the countries where it had first been planted, near the elevated spot where the ark grounded, and Noah raised his altar and worshipped the Lord. The Russians are mentioned by Herodotus. Strabo also describes them as having occupied the mouths of the Tanais and Boristhenes. They did not, therefore, migrate far from the original home of their ancestor, Japhet. The Hungarians, Ostiaks, and Siberian Tschudes, who speak coguate languages, and

at first were settled between the Caucasus and the southern part of the Uralian mountains, it is evident, all belong to the same race.

That the Greeks and Romans migrated into southern Europe, in various directions from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, is universally admitted, though the former, no doubt, received much of their knowledge and civilization from the Hamite nations of Egypt and Phœnicia, with the latter of whom, especially, they were for long in constant intercourse.

As we have mentioned the languages of Europe generally, both ancient and modern, as being of the same class with those of India, in consequence of which philologists now usually call them the Indo-European class; a few instances of agreement, or resemblance among these languages, may put this point in a clearer light, especially, to those, who have not had opportunities for investigating the subject. Dr. Pritchard, in his work on the eastern origin of the Celtic nations, has compared the Celtic dialects, with the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and other languages of the same class; in all of which such a number of important words, expressive of the most essential ideas of men, in all states of society, is to be found, entirely or nearly the same, that it seems evident that, though the Celts may have migrated at a period so early as to have been previous to the date of most of the Caucasian traditions, and institutions, still found in greater perfection among the other branches of the Indo-European race, they are nevertheless of the same general family, and though their languages have branched farther from the original root, they are, no doubt, merely off-shoots from the same great Caucasian stock.

There are six Celtic dialects remaining, either spoken, or preserved in books, viz.:—the Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, Cornish, Manks, and Armorican. Let us compare a few words of these with some of the Indo-European words of the same import, beginning with the word father, for which every language must have a precise equivalent. English, *father*; German, *fader*; Latin, *pater*; Persian, *pidr*; Sanscrit, *pita*, and *pitr*. Another word in Sanscrit for *ancestor* is

dáda, and also *tát*, for *father*; while the Welsh has *dád* exactly the same, cutting off the *a* at the termination, which in Sanscrit is not a real part of the word. In some of these languages, the *p* is turned into *f*, as in the German and English, but this is a very common change through the whole class, and occurs often in the same language, the words being pronounced both ways. Another instance may be given in the word for *mother*. The German and other languages of the north of Europe has *moder*; Persian, *máder*, and *má*; Latin, *mater*; Sanscrit, *máta*;—*mama* and *ma* are also used in several of the Indian, as well as European languages. Again, in English, we have *brother*; Welsh, *brawd*, plural, *brodyr*; Teutonic, *brothar*; Erse, *brothair*; Gothic, *bruder*; Persian, *birádar*; Latin, *frater*; Sanscrit, *bhratr*; Hindustani, *bhái*, (merely the Sanscrit word softened); Russian, *brat*. Again, in English, *daughter*; Gothic, *dauhter*; German, *tochtar*; Persian, *dochtar*; Sanscrit, *duhitra*, and *duhita*; Celtic, *dear*, or *dehar*; Greek, *thugater*. In most Indian languages the Sanscrit words are used, so that it is not necessary to specify them here.

We may take another specimen of a word for which all nations must have an equivalent. English, *star*; German, *stern*; Gothic, *stairno*; Scotch *staren*; Armorican, *steren*; Welsh, *sern*; Persian, *sitára*; Sanscrit, *tára*. Indeed almost all the elements, or principal objects in nature, might be gone through, and thousands of such coincidences might be pointed out, certainly not accidental, but such as are calculated to show, that all the principal languages of the whole line of countries, from the straits of Gibralter, to China, are, in their essential elements, derived from the same general stock, and have in their grammatical structure, the same generic form. In some of these countries, as in Persia, and Turkey, there has been a great influx of Semetic words, and even grammatical forms, from the prevalence of Arabic, as the language of religion among the Muhammadans; but the whole class of languages, as well as the physical peculiarities of the nations who speak them, bear the most evident marks of a common orign.

While the various colonies, of the Japhetic race, were spreading

themselves by different routes, principally towards the west and east, the main body would seem, for many ages, to have continued to inhabit the regions near the Caucasus, remaining essentially one people, though perhaps not under any one government. Their colonies, under various names, were rapidly extended, and some of them soon rose to an eminence which entirely eclipsed, the more primitive nations from which they sprung, and whose traditions became blended with the numerous mythological legends, relating to the adventurous heroes, who led the bands of hardy colonists, or early emigrants, in quest of new abodes in the countries now peopled by their descendants. Many of those colonies no doubt consisted of parties of men driven from home, either for crimes, or from being losers in struggles for power; while others were bold adventurers who sought for new and better homes, in more fertile and inviting parts of the world, and generally established themselves by subduing, and reducing to a state of servitude, the less warlike or less civilized tribes, who had gone before them. Under the general name of Pelasgi, a great migration took place towards Europe from central Asia, of tribes, probably not essentially different either in origin or character, from the Hindoo races, who either previously to the same era, or soon afterwards, became the predominant races in India. Many writers have supposed, that they were actually a migration *from India*, but this is extremely doubtful, unless we take India in the wide sense in which it was viewed, by many of the ancients, as including some of the countries of central Asia to the north of the Hindoo Koh, or the Bactriana of the Greeks.

The Pelasgi voyaging in various ways by sea overran and peopled the isles of Greece, and the coasts of a considerable portion of Europe and western Asia. Baron Cuvier from the great resemblance between the language of the Pelasgi, and the Sanscrit, was led to conclude that they, and consequently the greater part of the Greeks, were originally from India. He says, "The Pelasgi were originally from India, of which the Sanscrit roots that occur abundantly in their language, do not permit us to doubt. It is

possible that by crossing the mountains of Persia, they penetrated as far as the Caucasus; and from this point instead of continuing their route by land, they embarked on the Black Sea, and made a descent on the coasts of Greece." That they came from India, as this eminent man conjectures, is exceedingly improbable, as the people of India have no traditions of ever having colonized to the westward, nor is it likely they ever would have done so, with so many much more fertile and inviting countries open to them, on their eastern frontiers; but that the Pelasgi were a branch of the same great Caucasian family, who, after a considerable time having occupied some of the parts of central Asia, towards India, split into two divisions, the one overrunning India, or at least settling in it; while the other turned westward, towards Asia Minor and Greece, carrying with them the same general language and character, seems very likely; though the two branches of the same stock coming under the influence of very different circumstances and events, received altogether another sort of social development. Baron Cuvier again observes, that "The Sanscrit language is the most regular that is known; and that it is especially remarkable for the circumstance, that it contains the roots of the various languages of Europe; of the Greek, Latin, German, and Sclavonic." We may add that, it would be easy to prove this relationship, of language, by even thousands of coincidences, such as we have already adduced, and to include in the class even the Celtic dialects, though by a more remote relationship, than that sustained by the Sanscrit, to some of the more eastern languages of Europe.

In speaking of the people of India as of the same great race, with those of Germany, England and other European countries, we are merely reiterating the general opinion of some of the most eminent writers on ethnography; and at the same time giving, in some degree, the result of our own observation, having had occasion to study the languages and usages of some of the principal eastern branches of this great race, and to converse with men of different classes, from all the countries east of the Caspian; while with those on the European side, most of us are familiar. But when we

speak of the Caucasian race, as principally that of Japhet we are not to be understood as excluding the descendants of Shem, who also originally migrated, and that but to a short distance, from the same elevated range, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian and Black Seas. The vast high regions of central Asia, extending from the Black Sea on the west to the desert of Kobi and the province of Káshgár on the east, and from the mountain ranges of the Taurus, the Hindoo Koh, and Hamalaya on the south to the frozen and impenetrable wilds of the north, became at an early period, as it was naturally suited to become the great fatherland of most of the powerful races, that have, one after another spread themselves in every direction, save to the north, either conquering, or colonizing the rest of world. Though called the Caucasian race, they can only be considered as having originated in that mountain range, but have from the earliest ages of human history, occupied the whole of the regions of central Asia, sending forth migration after migration to colonize; or army after army, to overrun the various countries both of Europe and Asia, whenever their hardy and energetic population, required enlarged means of subsistence. All the nations of Europe, and most of those of Asia, with the exception of those south of the Euphrates—from the straits of Gibralter, to the Island of Japan—leaving out a few fragments of tribes, that are nations no longer, are evidently from their features, languages, and superstitions, of one great race, distinguishable from those inhabiting the rest of the world; and are all, no doubt, to be traced to him, respecting whom it was not only said—"God shall enlarge Japhet," —but whose name—"the Extender," was prophetic of the wide extension to which his race was destined.

It would seem to be probable that, though the Celts were of the same great Caucasian race with the other nations of Europe, they had long held a very isolated position in the most western countries, not having been followed into their remoter seats, by any cognate nations for many ages. Their connexion with the more recent nations of eastern origin, does not indeed appear to have been

entirely lost, and instances occured of Celtic tribes returning towards the east, and forming settlements; and it is not unlikely that they had been at all times receiving occasional accessions to their numbers, by smaller tribes, or individuals joining them from the parent stock, besides that the early formation of Phœnician trading colonies, on the coasts of western Europe, led to a slight intermixture of other nations, from the shores of the Mediterranean with the pure Celts of the maritime portions of those countries, especially, from which the precious metals were exported. Their peculiar development, however, indicated a long separation from other races of mankind, and their manners and customs had become so different from those of the cognate nations, that when the latter began to move westward in large bodies, instead of an easy amalgamation taking place, the most destructive wars were carried on, in which the Celtic tribes, being greatly inferior in physicial power, mental energies, and military skill, to the more recent Caucasian nations, were gradually exterminated, or driven into the less envied mountain districts, where the only fragments of them still remaining, are to be found; though no where does any pure Celtic community now exist, their higher classes especially having been for centuries completely amalgamated with the descendants of the intruders, by whom their ancestors were conquered. The long residence of the Celtic races on the same soil, gave them the character of an indigenous population, and such populations, as all history has shown, have always, without the infusion of new blood, been retrograde, the materials of which they are formed being too homogeneous, to have any powerful principle of activity to prompt to onward movement. The Atlantic ocean ruined the Celtic nations, by rendering them stationary within the limits in which they were cooped up, by the natural advance upon them of far more powerful, and better consolidated races, having among them a greater principle of adhesion—and following leaders chosen for their valour and talents, unembarrased by the imbecility of hereditary chiefs; who have been the ruin of all the nations of the world, among whom they have ever existed. The principle of

hereditary chieftainship, is incompatible with high civilization, unless, as existing in connexion with other institutions, securing its harmony with popular government; and its existence among all the the Celtic tribes, combined with a variety of other causes, precipitated their decline; while at the same time it has always appeared, that the Celts, though a hardy and valorous race, have ever been too much distinguished by strong feelings, and violent passions, to become, or to remain a powerful people, when brought into contact with races possessed of more steady energies, clearer intellectual perceptions, and greater power of determined, and combined perseverance.

Whatever, number, therefore, of Indo-European colonies, may have migrated at a very early period, and formed rude and uncivilized nations, towards the west, or in other directions, there is every reason to believe, that the great body of them, or the most civilized portion, remained for long comparatively near their original seats in central Asia. This powerful people must have had a considerable amount of civilization, and perhaps the knowledge of letters in very ancient times, as attested by the rise among them of the religion of Zoroaster, and the existing remains of the Zendavesta, respecting the precise data of which it is not necessary here to inquire. Not only the countries round the Black Sea, but the vast regions to the east of the Caspian, where, in the Medo-Bactrian kingdom, the still existing religion of Zoroaster originated, were peopled by the Indo-European race, off-shoots from which were constantly sent forth, to people the various more distant regions of Asia. The more western portion of these tribes colonized the countries around the Black Sea—but not as mere wandering tribes of savages, but as comparatively civilized bodies of adventurers, carrying with them in a considerably advanced state, the arts both of peace and war. Before they left home to form new settlements, they had among them all the institutions of society, and systems of law and of government, nor did they colonize countries absolutely waste, but, generally, subdued to a servile state, the ruder tribes of aboriginal inhabitants, while they themselves con-

tinued to enjoy a great amount of freedom, having hereditary chiefs, but at the same time, unlike the Celts, they formed republics of which their chiefs were merely presidents, though their rank was often hereditary. These moving tribes, however, were but mere fragments of the main body of the race, which always exhibited a great power of cohesion, though it allowed of much individual action. The extensive regions occupied by the Indo-European family east of the Caspian, were probably more fertile than now, though they still possess a vast surface of productive soil, especially along the Oxus, Jaxartes and other rivers, which, after watering the extensive plains through which they flow to the westward, empty themselves into the Caspian and sea of Aral. These regions were probably among the first, over which the great body of the Indo-European race was spread, which for long would appear to have continued essentially the same people. The central portion of the race, however, increasing, and being most powerful and civilized, naturally pressed outward, which movement necessarily threw the ruder frontier tribes on other nations, and thus gave an advancing and aggressive character to the whole people, somewhat like that of the united states of America, and of our own colonies. Wars were, therefore, provoked, and in every case, the advanced parties, however unjustifiable their aggressions might be, were supported, (if they were too weak for their enterprises) if not by the whole nation, at least, by such a number of lawless adventurers, as would enable them to secure their object—the acquisition either of plunder, or of new lands to colonize. Conquest, therefore, became inevitable, and in this way it is probable, that India, originally, peopled by comparatively uncivilized and defenceless tribes, was gradually subdued and colonized by the more warlike nations of the extensive regions to the east of the Caspian, at a period anterior to any existing annals, whose descendants, though greatly changed by climate and habits, still compose the higher castes of the Hindoos.

The colonies of the same great race, we find at the dawn of history, passing from Asia Minor into Greece, or like Œneas and his companions, founding colonies in Italy; which they peo-

pled, long afterwards to be overrun by other nations of the same origin. Among the petty states formed by these colonies, Rome became supreme over the then civilized portions of Europe, and at last over all the countries around the Mediterranean. In the course of many ages, other tribes from the same original source, had slowly but steadily advanced after each other, or rather impelled each other, along the banks of the great rivers that flow into the Caspian, and Black Sea, and thence onwards to the Baltic, which formed a barrier to their progress; and being stopped likewise by the German Ocean, and repelled by the inhospitable forests of the far north, but allured by the more fertile regions of the south, they poured down in various directions on the more settled provinces of the Roman empire, whose inhabitants, having long lived in security and became enervated by luxury, were no longer able to resist the ferocious valour of these warlike hordes. They, therefore, very soon conquered the earlier nations of Europe, that, for the most part, became amalgamated with these new migrations of the same original stock with themselves. These new races of conquerors were soon greatly modified in their peculiar characteristics, by their union with the older nations whom they subdued, but still it is evident, that they were sufficiently numerous to absorb nearly the whole of the remaining original inhabitants of many of the provinces of Europe, without for a long time having their own habits and customs materially changed, while, in some other portions of the Roman empire, they more fully adopted the language and manners of the people whom they had vanquished and subjected to their sway. In India, on the contrary, there is reason to believe, that when, at a still earlier period, it was overrun by the races who now form its higher castes, the invaders were probably in a higher state of civilization than the races whom they subdued, so that their ascendency was not founded merely on their superior military prowess, but also, in the case of the Brahmans especially, on their superior civilization, and intelligence, as it respects the arts of life, as well as of the principles of religion and philosophy.

The modern nations of Europe have sprung, chiefly, from the in-

grafting of the migratory tribes of the north, and east, on the older Celtic nations, originally of the same stock, and on the semi-Grecian communities of the south of Europe, descended from the same Caucasian race, but of more recent formation, as it respects their local governmental organization, which was of a much higher order than that of the pure Celts. These various, but cognate tribes, following each other from the same common source in central Asia, reached their present abodes not, indeed, always by the same routes, or in the same manner, but with nearly the same effects on the previous population. Some of them appeared, suddenly, as armed bands of robbers, formidable from their numbers and ferocity, and the extent to which they carried their ravages into the fairest provinces, but retiring as suddenly with their plunder, leaving only a few stragglers behind. Other tribes came also as robbers, but retained the lands, as well as the riches which they acquired; while some, as the Getes, or Goths, who came originally from the regions of central Asia, north of Bukhára, advanced as a powerful body, step by step, gradually conquering, and settling on the conquered lands, till they permanently subjugated, and colonized anew, many regions of Europe still possessed by their descendants. In the place of their origin, as well as in their language and character, and even in their name, they so strongly resemble the military castes of India (one of the tribes of whom is still known by the name of Ját, the etymology of which seems the same as the word Gete, used to distinguish them by the Greeks), that it is difficult to believe that the Getes, or Goths, were not of the same identical race with the Khatria tribes of India, who, as well as the Brahmans, are no doubt, of more recent introduction to that country than the lower castes, and whose traditions all point to a northern origin beyond the Hamalaya mountains.

By keeping in mind this general origin of the European nations, we shall be able better to understand the appearances presented by the state of society in India, whose system of castes has, very probably, arisen from the same causes which, in Europe, in some measure, has produced permanent distinctions of families, as noble, or ignoble. In many parts of Europe, the recent tribes of con-

querors, or military adventurers, such as the Normans, and, before them, the Franks, though originally only bands of plundering barbarians, became the founders of the military classes and nobility, and even of the Royal families still reigning—so the Khatrias, or military castes of India, there is every reason to believe, were bands of northern adventurers, who established themselves, by force, in the west and north of India, at a very remote period, and, in conjunction with the tribe of the Brahmans, at last acquired the ascendency over the early inhabitants of the country. When the same, or at least cognate races, at a later period, overran Europe, the nature of that country, and, more especially, the influence of Christianity, whose genius is altogether opposed to the principle of caste, gave a very different development to their customs and institutions from that which those of the Indian branch had previously received; but through all the middle ages in Europe, their habits and institutions, such as those of chivalry, continued to present a remarkable similarity to those of the ancient military castes of India; while those of the Semetic nations, inhabiting south-western Asia, were distinguished by characteristics entirely different.

Our design at present, however, is not to enter into extended ethnographical discussions, however interesting, or important in themselves, but in some measure to attempt to illustrate the moral state of the people of India; and our only reason for referring to their origin, is simply to show, that they have never, as some have imagined, been an isolated race, but that from the earliest ages, they had an intimate connexion with the principal stock from which all the greatest civilized nations have sprung. Though widely separated from the Israelites, to whom a temporary revelation was given, for a specific, but subsidiary purpose, they were never divided, by the intervention of other races, from that peculiar region of the world, to which nearly all civilized nations may be traced, and where we have reason to believe that the elements of primitive revelation, had been best known and longest preserved, in consequence of its proximity to the homes of the earliest post-diluvian patriarchs; and where it is not improbable that divine

communications may have been made to Noah and his sons. Whether such had been the case or not, we know that, to that part of the world, all the principal nations of Europe trace their origin, while those of India look to it, not only as the original seat of the early progenitors of their race, but as the abode of their gods and primitive sages. All the traditions of India, point to the north-west as the original land of the ancestors of mankind, and the fact that all their languages, as well as physical characteristics, are of the same class as those of the nations of Europe, supports the opinion that their origin, in general, was the same. In consequence however, of the rise, and extension of Muhammadanism, over a great portion of western Asia and eastern Europe, and the long and sanguinary wars which it occasioned, between the Christian nations, and the Arabs, Turks, and other Muhammadan western Asiatics; a great barrier was for several centuries interposed, between the countries of Europe and the regions east and north-east of Palestine. This long separation of races, originally derived from the same source, led to the development of customs, manners, and languages, and even physical peculiarities, under very diverse circumstances, and of course, in very different directions; so that when Europeans first reached eastern Asia, by the newly discovered but circuitous route, round the Cape of Good Hope, and came again into contact with Asiatic nations, as represented by the people of India and China, they seemed at first to be quite opposite to them in all their customs and habits of life, and as to their general sentiments, they continued for long a complete mystery.

Eastern countries, even those only a little beyond the frontiers of Europe, were then scarcely known to the more western nations; and there were no means of tracing the gradual approximation to each other, in almost every characteristic, among the inhabitants of all the regions between Germany and Hindustan, by which it is ascertained, that a chain of cognate nations, is extended along the whole of the northern temperate zone, easily distinguished from the other great races of mankind, both by their physical, and mental development. When Europeans first met the Hindoos of the

the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, they met with those, who were least pure, or whose peculiarities were such, as removed them farthest from the European type of the same general race. This led them to conclude that they were nations of an entirely different origin from those either of Europe, or western Asia. But had they reached those countries by land, going on from the shores of the German ocean, or Baltic, visiting in their course those of the Black sea and the Caspian; then traversing central Asia by Khiva, Bukhára, Cáshgár, and Samarkand, and then entered India by the north-west, instead of the south-east, they would have found that, the languages and manners of the nations in general, through which they passed, with the exception of a few minor tribes, melt so gradually into each other, that scarcely a doubt can remain, of their being all originally of one great family. At no one given point, does any great break occur in the chain, though, here and there its links may seem somewhat shattered, and at its extremities, the differences, in its material, may at first sight, appear so great, that its general identity may not be easily observed. But though the links at the opposite extremities of this long chain of nations, when thus brought at once together, may seem very unlike each other, the general connexion is obvious, when the intermediate ones are carefully traced and examined; while between the European and Semetic, but still more between it and the African races, there are no such links of connexion to be found, except those of so general a nature, as to be common to the whole human species.

The Indian branches of the great Caucasian race, seem to have reached that country at a very early period; perhaps even before the Celts had become numerous in Europe; and, at all events, long before the latter European nations reached their present seats, or had even emerged from the comparatively inhospitable regions of north-western Asia, or north-eastern Europe. There can be no doubt but India was peopled in the very earliest ages. Long before the Christian era, it had powerful and civilized monarchies, which even Alexander the Great, with all his reckless valour, and boundless ambition, dared not attack. This seems highly probable, from

his rapid retreat after his temporary success in the Panjáb, leaving scarcely a trace of his conquests east of the Indus. The Greeks have given their own boasting account of the affair, while the Indian one has been lost. Alexander, perhaps, did not sustain any actual defeat, but had he not met with a complete check, it is not likely that his rapacious followers would have obliged him to retreat, leaving untouched in their rear, the very tempting spoils of the rich cities and provinces on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. They, no doubt, like the fox with the grapes, had the magnanimity to despise what they were unable to take. The frantic conduct, and debauchery of Alexander, on his return to Babylon, which led to his premature death, if his retreat be regarded as at least a partial defeat, becomes more easily explained. He and his followers were not able to do more, than, with immense difficulty and loss, to overcome the most western Hindoo state, and finding that before them there was a large confederacy of still more powerful kingdoms on the Ganges armed against them, they showed their discretion—a most important part of valour—by returning in time, and boasting that they had conquered India; when they had only skirted the frontier provinces of that great country, without risking a battle with any of the armies of the more powerful states, assembled on the alarm of their advance. The impression made on India by Alexander must have been but slight, else more mention of it would certainly have been made in Hindoo books. The sentiments and institutions of the people, in general, seem to have been but little affected by his inroad, for it never deserved the name of a conquest; but its influence, on the external relations of India, must have been very great, and, probably, led to such an isolation of its people from the cognate nations of central Asia, as had never prevailed before, and to an exaggeration of national peculiarities to an extent that otherwise would not have taken place.

As far as India was concerned, the most important result of Alexander's expedition, was the establishment, in central Asia, of the Greco-Bactrian, on the ruins of the Medo-Bactrian em-

pire, which had before been united with the Persian. The connexion between the Medo-Bactrian kingdom and India, was, probably, of a very intimate nature. It was likely one of the earliest of the eastern monarchies, and seems to have had a sacred tribe somewhat like that of the Brahmans of India; from whom it is by no means unlikely that the latter sprung; while the military castes of India were, no doubt, derived from the same region, as well as many of the religious sentiments still to be found in India. The countries beyond the sources of the Indus, bordering on the ancient kingdom of Bactria, were, in the earliest ages, regarded as part of India, and were peopled by the same nations now known by the name of Hindoos. In that region, early traditions seem to have been long preserved, and a comparatively pure system of divine worship prevailed, on the general corruption of which, Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, taught his system of the two principles of light and darkness, most of the doctrines of which, have been, in one form or another, incorporated with Hinduism. The Græco-Bactrian kingdom, for a considerable time, was the principal medium of communication between India and the countries to the west, but that intercourse being carried on so indirectly through the Bactrian Greeks, tended much to the continued, and even increased, isolation of the Hindoos from the rest of mankind.

There is reason to believe that, not only the banks of the Ganges and Jumna, but, many of the other parts of India, had been inhabited at an age long anterior to the date of any historical monuments now extant. The most ancient inhabitants were rude tribes, possibly of Hametic origin, who had extended themselves, even to the most southern parts, so as to occupy most of the provinces of peninsular India, and even the Island of Ceylon, before any of the more regular Hindoo races had possessions south of the Vindhya range. In the Hindoo mythological poems, and especially in the Ramáyan, those uncultivated races are constantly introduced as grotesque incarnations of the inferior deities of the Hindoo Pantheon, in the form of monkeys, headed by Hanumán and his brothers, kings of the Bandhars—or foresters, "wild men of the woods," the apes or

monkeys of Hindoo mythology—no doubt a mere poëtical mode of representing the savage auxiliaries of the more civilized Hindoo races, who, under their great leader, Rám Chander, king of Oudhe, and his warlike brothers, not only extended the dominion of the Brahmanical Hindoos, over the chief provinces of the north of India, but even over the most southern provinces, and the Island of Ceylon, and, consequently, established Brahmanical influence over nearly the whole country. This great extension of their power, by the victories of Rám Chander, very naturally led the Brahmans to celebrate him as more than mortal—a sort of Indian Hercules—so that, at last, he was fully recognized as an incarnation of the god Vishnu. Under this great leader, and others of the same warlike race, they overran the whole of India, and even the Island of Ceylon, where Hinduism has ever since, in some measure, prevailed. After a fierce and protracted struggle, Budhism was indeed almost expelled from the continent of India; but still, to a considerable extent, maintains its ground in Ceylon, where it was introduced, as we have already seen, long before the Christian era.

The earlier nations of Indian aborigines, would seem, therefore, to have been gradually urged onwards, to the southern and eastern provinces, by the different immigrations of the purer Caucasian races, who for ages continued to pour down, on the rich and fertile districts of Gangetic India, by the fords of the Indus, and the passes of the Hamalaya, from the extensive and elevated plains of Bokhára, Káshgár and Tibet—regions once included in the Medo-Bactrian empire. These migrations formed the basis of the higher castes in India, and the fact that in the provinces of ancient Bactria, there was not only a sacred, but a military tribe—renders it highly probable, that from them originated the two highest castes in India—the Brahmans or sacred order, and the Khatrias or military tribe, the latest conquerors or settlers, being, as in our own colonies, always disposed to claim the highest rank. The pride of a supposedly higher race, led these conquering tribes, to make every effort to preserve the purity of descent in their families; and the higher clans among them, especially the Brahmans, who claimed

descent from sacred families of the highest antiquity, not only formed civil laws, but called in all the sanctions of religion and of the gods, to enable them to preserve their ascendency, and hence every member of the tribe, was taught from infancy, to regard it as mortal sin, to have any intimate social connexion with the members of any tribe below him.

Such may, in general, be regarded as the origin of caste. The distinction is not, as is often supposed, one of hereditary professions, offices, or trades, though, in some measure this is the case; but only as the natural consequence of some tribes, especially such as have been, at one time or another, connected with, either the religion, or government of the country, regarding certain businesses, or offices, as beneath their rank. All castes, however, may practise agriculture, or follow the military profession. Certain businesses, however, such as working in leather, or serving in menial offices, are regarded as low, and are followed only by men of the lowest castes, so that among the lowest general castes, there are subdivisions, lower still.

If we suppose India first to have been inhabited by rude tribes, living, perhaps, principally by the chase; it is not unnatural that such aborigines may have been displaced, or expelled, from the more fertile parts of the country, by the advancement of a colonization composed of men, better acquainted with agriculture, and the other arts of life. Many of the aborigines most likely retired to the mountains, or more remote districts, or were gradually mixed up with the more recent immigrants, so as to form part of the mass of the population, which in India has always consisted of a great variety of tribes, or castes, under the general name of Sudra, having different names, as well as physical peculiarities, in different parts of the country. They are the lowest of the four great divisions, or castes, of the Hindoos; but superior to the Paháriás (mountaineer tribes), who are, no doubt, the more ancient aborigines, and are not, properly speaking, of the Hindoo race at all, though in most places considerably mixed. These Sudra tribes, or castes, consist of many hundreds of clans, more or less distinct, some of whom, at least,

were probably separate nations, when they first settled in India, having certain forms of self-government, laws, and institutions, still more or less retained in the customs, or common law, of the respective castes. It is a peculiar characteristic of Hindoo society, that while the general governments have always been monarchies, more or less absolute, (though an entirely absolute monarchy, like that of Russia, is utterly unknown to Hindoo law) each caste is, in itself, an independent republic, administering all its own affairs, and exercising a full jurisdiction over its own members, on the principle of universal suffrage; every member being entitled to vote on every question affecting the purity of the body, or the observance of its rules, the elders of the caste moderating the decisions of the popular assemblies, or acting as judges, or expounders, of laws, or customs, observed from time immemorial by the tribe. The usages of the Indian castes bear no small resemblance to those of the ancient popular governments of the Germanic tribes of Europe, out of which the present English constitution gradually sprung; and this, taken in connexion with other reasons, tends to confirm the opinion that these nations, now so distant from each other, are of one common origin.

The Baisya, or mercantile caste of India, is evidently of more recent origin than the Sudra tribes, though we know that they existed in India before the Hindoo Shasters were written. They seem to have been colonists of a more peaceable character than either the Khatria or Brahman tribes, being always referred to with respect, as men engaged in agriculture and commerce. If the conjecture which we have ventured to make, that the Brahmans and Khatrias were derived from the sacred and military tribes, which there is every reason to believe, existed in the ancient kingdom of Bactria, bordering on India, is not unreasonable, it would seem most probable that the Baisyas were derived from the same source, and that they entered India along with the other two highest castes, allured by the fertility of the country, and the profitable nature of its extensive commerce. The fairness of their complexion, wherever I have seen them, fully convinces me, that they must, like the other

two higher castes, be of a more recent northern origin than the Sudra tribes, with the exception of such branches of the latter, as are merely bastard off-shoots of the Brahman and other high castes, which is the case with a good many of the Sudras, and especially the Kaiyasts, or writer castes. The Baisyas wear the cord, or badge of high caste, and are consequently often confounded, by Europeans, with the Brahmans, but their features are, in general, quite different. They are rarely found in Bengal and the south, but are numerous in the north-western provinces.

The appearance of the Khatria, or military caste, indicates, even more distinctly, a Caucasian origin. It was by this race that ancient India seems to have been at an early period overrun and ruled, in conjunction with that of the Brahmans, who contented themselves generally with the reality of power, while they allowed the Khatrias to have the name. According to the Hindoo Shasters, this caste and the Brahmans quarrelled in ancient times, and after a dreadful contest the Brahmans obtained the ascendency, and nearly exterminated the Khatrias. Parasu Rám, a supposed incarnation of Vishnu, is represented as having destroyed the Khatria race, in vindicating the cause of the Brahmans, so that only off-shoots of the ancient caste, such as the Rájputs, who are very numerous, are supposed now to exist, the purest stock having been annihilated.

During the period that India was probably ruled by this race, the Brahmans, or sacred order, another branch of the same great Caucasian family, were gradually acquiring an ascendency by the inculcation of their peculiar system of religion, moral discipline, and ceremonial observances. Though it is probable that the elements of Hinduism, as now existing, were brought into India, from central Asia, in an imperfectly developed state, the system was evidently gradually consolidated in India itself; and before it reached anything like its present form, it gave birth to its great rival, Budhism, with which, it for long had to maintain a desperate struggle. The divisions that sprung up among the Budhists, led to the ruin of their cause, on the continent of India, and at a period

not long subsequent to the Christian era, Brahmanical Hinduism became predominant, from the Hamalaya mountains through which it had first entered India, to the Island of Ceylon, over which it has never been fully extended. The great pretensions to sanctity made by the Brahmans, combined with their superiority in mental acumen, and general knowledge, as compared with the other tribes inhabiting India; seem to have laid the foundation of their extraordinary ascendency; while by various arts, practised with all the zeal of a hereditary class, and with undeviating unity of purpose, they obtained an immense influence over the ruling powers, by their peculiar readiness to give a religious sanction to the authority of the higher classes, over the lower. They were always ready to assert the divine right of kings to rule; but only of such kings as took care to secure the immunities of the Brahmans, and to load them with riches and honours. Even after their great war with the Khatria tribes, and the nearly total extinction of that warlike race, they seldom aspired to rule directly, though it is true that severeal of the oldest Royal families in India, are of the Brahman caste; but the great policy of the body, like that of other priesthoods, has always been to have a complete independence of all kings and governments, and a supreme, but indirect power over them and their subjects, while they claim temporal support from both, and privileges superior to either. This is obviously the true policy of any priesthood, forming a class separate from the people, and is that of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in most countries of Europe. Whether the Brahmans can claim the honour of originating a sacerdotal doctrine, so often maintained by the church of Rome, as well as by some of the leaders of a great protestant movement in our own day, it is difficult to say, but that they held it and often acted upon it, even in very ancient times, before Christianity itself was known, there can be little doubt.

The representations made by the Brahmans, however, respecting their own power and influence in former times, as well as the statements in the Shasters themselves, are obviously gross exaggerations, intended to produce the impression on the minds of the people, of

their having had, in former times, a most extraordinary influence, not only over men, but over the gods themselves. The leading men amongst them, could not have failed of having had immense power, ever since their doctrines were fully established in India; as they had succeeded in monopolizing for themselves, and members of their tribe, almost every important office, not only of religion and public instruction, but also of political administration; being not only the priests and teachers of the rulers, but their advisers and agents, in all their judicial proceedings, and state affairs. They were not merely a body of hereditary priests; but they always furnished from their number most of the lawyers, judges, medical men, and political agents; though other high castes, related to them, participated in such offices. With such a position, they could not but have very great influence in any state of society, and how much must this influence have been increased, among a superstitious people, when they were believed to exercise their functions, in consequence of having been made by the Creator himself, superior to other men, for the express purpose of ruling, and guiding them, with respect both to the affairs of this life, and of that which is to come. To question their right to superiority, over all classes of men was, therefore, regarded by the ignorant as gross impiety; and even to speak against them, was naturally considered to be a crime, deserving of the most condign punishment.

CHAPTER XXI.

PATRIARCHAL ORIGIN OF HINDOO MORAL SENTIMENTS.—CONNEXION BETWEEN ANCIENT EGYPT AND INDIA ONLY PARTIAL.—MORE DIRECT AND INTIMATE CONNEXION WITH CENTRAL ASIA.—LAWS OF MANU.—PRETENSIONS OF ANCIENT SAGES TO INSPIRATION.—PROBABLE DIVINE ORIGIN OF MANY LAWS AND MORAL RULES.

In the preceding chapters, we have, in some measure, attempted to trace the origin of the principal nations professing the Hindoo religion; for though the present Hindoos, may, in one sense, be regarded as one great nation, yet, as now existing, they rather present the aspect of a number of distinct nations, like those of continental Europe; speaking different languages, while their religion, and social usages, though varying considerably, in the several provinces of India, as to minor details, may be regarded as essentially the same. The great peculiarity of Indian society is this, that the original tribes of which it is composed, instead of having, like those of modern Europe, amalgamated into one people, continue, even in the same localities, as distinct races or castes, retaining their original customs, internal laws, and social organizations, as separate democratical republics. We shall now proceed to consider more particularly the state of moral sentiments, among this singular and interesting people, who from the remotest antiquity, and under every dynasty of conquerors, whether native or foreign, have in every age continued to be ruled by their own laws, and to practise their own religion, neither aiming at governmental independence on the one hand, nor succumbing to tyranny on the other: but obliging every conqueror in his turn, from the savage Timur, to the headstrong Ellenborough, to rule them according to the laws or institutions, received from their ancestors.

That the Hindoos, inhabiting from the earliest times, some of the regions contiguous to those parts of the world first peopled by

the post-diluvian patriarchs, should have preserved moral precepts, and fragments of primeval divine laws, as well as of religious doctrines, is far from being improbable. That many sentiments were handed down, from the patriarchs of the human race, especially in those parts of the world, where they dwelt, there can be no reason to doubt; though, in course of time such traditions became much corrupted, and had engrafted on them, many erroneous doctrines, local superstitions, incorrect and exaggerated history —and, at last, a poetical, and depraved mythology, productive of the most degrading idolatry. The peculiar bent of the Indian mind to allegory on the one hand, and metaphysical speculation on the other, occasioned the obscuration of the more simple primitive doctrines, and traditions, by overlaying them with poetical fictions, or burying them amidst the abstractions, of a profound, but dreamy and transcendental philosophy. Many sentiments and opinions, however, and especially moral laws, or injunctions, derived at first from a divine source, might have been transmitted to after ages, and then embodied in writing, not unmixed, indeed, with many errors and mistakes, and even gross impostures, and entire perversions of some of the most important principles in morals, as well as in religious doctrine. With respect to divine worship, also, many fragments of laws, at first revealed to the patriarchs, and parts of the divinely instituted rituals, observed by them, may have been handed down by the fathers, and sages of the principal races of mankind; though in the absence of divine communications, during that long period, when, on account of their wilful apostasy, God left the nations to themselves, these became so thoroughly perverted, that only the semblance of the primitive institutions remained. We have no reason to think that the patriarchs had an extensive revelation of the divine will, or that what they had was originally written, though some truths, contained in it, may have been transmitted, and afterwards embodied, mixed up with their own sentiments or inventions by uninspired men, who, more or less, pretended to teach laws or doctrines, revealed to them from heaven, and who, if not regarded as prophets,

in their own times, were at least believed to be such by posterity, if not even elevated, by popular opinion, to the rank of gods.

Though it is possible, that some of the sentiments found in the Hindoo books, especially in those of a later date, may have been derived from the Mosaic revelation, yet the entire want of any knowledge of Israelitish tradition, with the exception of vague traces of such portions of it as refers back to the times of the anti-Mosaic patriarchs, is unfavourable to the idea of the Hindoo writers of ancient times, having had any direct knowledge of the Jewish scriptures. The dispersion of the Israelites towards the east, on the Assyrian captivity of the ten tribes, and the Babylonish captivity of the Jews, may, no doubt, have brought them into contact, with the people of India; but Hinduism in all its essential doctrines was, in all probability, fully developed long before the latter event; but in the case of the ten tribes who were placed, we are told, in the cities of the Medes, likely to have been near the Caspian, it is not impossible but that some impression may have been produced by their sentiments and practices, on those of the nations of central Asia, from whom the Hindoos seem to have sprung. This, however, could have only very slightly influenced Hinduism, which was probably even then highly developed, and which, as a system, is of a nature entirely different, in all its fundamental doctrines, from the religion of the Israelites, though many of its laws both moral and ceremonial, are essentially the same as those delivered to Moses from Sinai; almost all of which, however, are of a much more ancient date; being then only authoritatively re-enacted.

The natives of the western shores of India, had a considerable intercourse with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and consequently with the Israelites, and Arabs, whose territories lay between them and the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile. But neither Hinduism nor Budhism originated on the western coasts of India, but on the contrary, in those parts of the country most distant from the points of communication, either with Egypt, or Phœnicia; Hinduism in its earliest traditions

pointing invariably to the Hamalaya mountains, while Budhism undoubtedly was spread over the east, from the banks of the Ganges.

It is well known that the ancient Egyptians held some, if not many of the opinions prevalent among the Hindoos, and that in their architecture, as well as in some other respects, there is a considerable resemblance. Their reverence for the Bull and some other animals, might also be mentioned. They likewise held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, though in a different form, from that in which the same doctrine is held by the Hindoos. The institution of caste also existed in Egypt. The points of difference, however, are still too great to be consistant with the idea of the one system being derived from the other, and if a common origin is to be sought, it must be, not in any temporary intercourse between the shores of India and Egypt, but in a region different from either, and in a period of too remote antiquity, to have ever become the subject of authentic history. The intercourse between India and ancient Egypt, would seem to have taken place, mostly through the Tyrians, and at a period when probably Brahmanical Hinduism was not fully established along the south-western coasts; with only a few of the ports of which, that interconrse was ever carried on. The Egyptians were not a commercial but an agricultural people, and it is very improbable that the Phœnicians and Arabs who acted as their merchants and carriers, would have taught the people of India, customs which they themselves never practised, and doctrines which they never believed; or on the other hand, that in carrying the productions of India to the shores of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, they should have also carried the doctrines and customs of its people, articles not usually trafficked in by such adventurers, and instead of themselves adopting them, establish them in Egypt. The origin of the Egyptian doctrines is evidently, however, too remote, being even anterior to the time of Joseph, to admit for a moment of the supposition of their being derived from India; while that of the Hindoo

religion is so distinctly traceable to regions with which Egypt never had any direct connexion, that, unless we regard both systems as springing out of one primordial root, long extinct, but existing before either India or Egpyt rose to importance, it will be difficult to account for either; for though subsequent intercourse, which must have been at most exceedingly partial, and confined to a few sea-ports, never known to be places of importance in India, or as having any religious influence whatever, may have introduced to India a few Egyptian superstitions subsequently ingrafted on Hinduism; a system so profound and peculiarly national, never could have been so established in the country, without having a single tradition, pointing to its derivation, either from Egypt or the shores of the Indian ocean, where on such a supposition it must first have been planted.

The early intercourse between Egypt, and the south-western coasts of India, whether direct or indirect took place in all probability before Hinduism had extended to those parts, and was, therefore, more likely carried on with the Budhists, and before them, with the aboriginal nations of India, Brahmanical Hinduism, being probably at that early period—before the invasion of Alexander—not much extended beyond its native regions, on the upper Ganges and Jumna, from which Budhism was spread about the same period over the regions of the south; and into countries where Hinduism was long before, it penetrated; as well into others, which it has never reached. Of the actual intercourse between India and the Red Sea, and consequently with Egypt, at a very early period there can be no doubt, but that intercourse was never with those parts of India from which the Hindoo system sprung; for if any faith is to be put in the numerous ancient traditions, and extensive literature of a great people, whatever colonies either of Phœnician or Egyptian origin, may have existed for purposes of trade on the south-western coasts, both the Brahmans and their religion came from the north, and spread over India, from the regions contiguous, to the Hamalaya range.

The Hindoos, however, were, in ancient times, very closely connected with the Medes and Persians, being of the same general stock, and speaking cognate languages; and when the latter overran both Syria and Egypt, under Cambyses, and other conquerors, it is not unnatural to suppose that they may have left some traces of their religious sentiments on the Egyptian mind, and, in their turn, have learned some new superstitions from those nations whom they subjugated, who, though their inferiors in military spirit, were their superiors in the arts of civilization. The commingling of nations, by conquest, has generally led to the modification of national superstitions, though scarcely any heathen nation has ever adopted, entirely, the religion, or mythology, of another. Even the Romans, who were not a distinct race, or nation, but a community formed by a conglomeration of cognate tribes, though they adopted, for the most part, the Greek mythology, and many of the superstitions of the nations whom they subdued, still retained a sort of system of their own, on which they engrafted whatever they borrowed from others. The expedition of the Egyptian Sesostris to the east, was too sudden and predatory to have produced any serious impression on the institutions of India.

It is probable that the parent stem, from which both Hinduism and Budhism were only off-shoots, had perished before the dawn of history in the east, like the original trunk of many an old Banian tree, the branches of which have taken root, and still flourish; but the soil in which it was first planted was certainly not in Egypt, and, perhaps, not in India. Hinduism, however, it can scarcely be doubted, had been, in some measure, as we have seen, established in India before Budhism arose, though still in a comparatively incipient state, and confined to the north-west, whence it was gradually extended to the south by the Brahmans, its original professors, themselves a pure Caucasian race, as far removed as any existing people of Europe, from the black, or semi-negro stock of Egypt.

It is possible, that, at a period certainly subsequent to the origin of Hinduism, some doctrines, or rather customs and superstitions, may have been introduced into India from Egypt, and others into that

country from India, through the medium of the commerce which existed between them during the reigns of the Ptolemies. There is no evidence, however, that the intercourse between them was ever very direct, or extensive; while the fact that it was generally conducted, not by natives of either India or Egypt, but by the Arabs, and Phœnicians, who never adopted the religion or manners of either country, is quite unfavourable to the idea that Egypt ever exerted any important influence on the civilization or religion of India, a country so vastly superior to itself, both in extent and population, as well as in the variety of its productions, and all the elements of independent existence. All history shows, that a few commercial foreigners, frequenting a few sea-ports, never produce any sensible impression on the opinions, religion, and habits, of any great nation; and in India, where none of the great cities, or seats of government, have ever been on the coasts, but hundreds of miles from them, in the interior of the country, the impression produced by commercial intercourse by sea, must have been less than in many countries differently situated, and of comparatively small extent. Even London, which has more intercourse with foreign nations than any other city in the world, by means of commerce, is but slightly affected by the religious opinions and practices of the nations who resort to it. Even with Egypt itself, London has, perhaps, more trade than ever passed between that country and India; but the influence of England over the religion and manners of modern Egypt, during the last hundred years, has been small indeed, though, during that period, our fleets have crowded the port of Alexandria, and our armies have fought and conquered on the banks of the Nile; while no army from Egypt—with one doubtful exception—ever visited India; and no vessel from the Nile, and, perhaps, never one even from the Red Sea, manned by native Egyptians, ever anchored in the Ganges, till many centuries after the religion of ancient Egypt had perished, and Hinduism had become almost decrepid with age.

It is still, however, possible that the aborigines of ancient India, or after them the Budhists of the coasts, may have derived some of

their sentiments and customs from Egypt; and that when Budhism declined in those parts, and Brahmanical Hinduism became the predominant religion, these may have been incorporated with it; but such could not have been the case with any really important doctrine of the Hindoo system. The more essential elements of existing Hinduism, were likely all that the Brahmans brought with them into India, and on these many ideas, customs, and superstitions, already existing among the aboriginal nations, were gradually engrafted, so as greatly to alter its early character, which was that of a pantheistic elemental worship, with which was ultimately combined the present monstrous system of polytheism; not even now universally believed in, but vainly struggled against, by many of the more philosophical sects.

The very nature of the climate, soil, and productions of the valley of the Ganges, the great country of fully developed Hinduism—so similar in many respects to that of the Nile, human nature being the same in both countries, and primitive traditions having much the same character—was calculated to promote the undesigned construction of systems of superstitious worship, having many points in common, without our supposing the one to be a direct derivation from the other. Thus we find that afterwards, under similar influences, Christianity itself received a peculiar development in Egypt; and the banks of the Nile gave birth to large bodies of Christian ascetics, who produced a most powerful influence on the Church, which has not yet ceased to be felt, and manifested, especially in its practical theology, the best works on which still abound with sentiments, especially in reference to matter and spirit, nowhere taught in scripture, but universally prevalent among the Hindoo devotee sects, and taught on the banks of the Ganges, centuries before the birth either of St. Anthony, or Simon Stilites. Not merely the monasticism of the Church of Rome, but many of the principal heresies of the universal Church, as well as much of the mysticism, which even now corrupts and deteriorates not a little of the theology of different sects in Christendom, have sprung from the metaphysical doctrines, now current

in India, and taught by the Brahmans and Budhists, even before the Christian era.

Though certainty on such a subject cannot be reached, it seems, from the more recent researches, to be highly probable, that though none of the great civilized nations of the ancient heathen world, such as Egypt, Persia, India, Asia minor, or Greece, positively derived their systems of religion, entirely from each other; they were much more nearly connected than has often been supposed, so that they were more or less intermixed, and many principles were common to all. It seems almost evident that their principal laws, were also very similar in all those nations; and, as well as their moral sentiments, they bear distinct marks of being generally derived from the same primeval source; though their local modifications, to adapt them to different countries, and circumstances, are great and numerous. The most ancient laws of Egypt and Greece are lost, though many of their general principles and enactments have been, in part at least, preserved. Many of the ancient laws of the Hindoos, however, are still extant, and partially in force, being revered in India as divine, though the Vedas, or four most sacred books, containing the most ancient principles of their religion, exist but in part, and are only imperfectly known. A distinct perception of moral right and wrong, is displayed by all the earliest Hindoo writers, though the force of moral maxims is often destroyed by metaphysical refinements and casuistical exceptions. In the laws of the sage Manu, who is regarded as himself of divine origin, and as delivering a divine rule of conduct for all classes of men, there is a most distinct enunciation of moral truth, on almost every important point; while at the same time, there are palliations of crime, subversive of all sound moral principles. As the laws and moral principles found in the institutes of Manu, are universally acknowledged by the Hindoos, as of the highest authority, though on some minor points obsolete, as far as mere legal decisions are concerned; we shall direct our attention to some of these enactments, in order to show the sentiments, generally received on the virtue or vice of certain human actions; and on the rewards and

punishments by which they are to be followed, either in this world or the next. These laws, be it observed, are not regarded as of human institution, but as holding the same place in Hinduism, as the laws of Moses among the Israelites, being supposed to have been authoritatively delivered to holy sages, by Manu, the son of Bramha, the creator.

With respect to Manu, the learned translator of his institutes, Sir W. Jones, remarks; "There is certainly a strong resemblance, though obscured and faded by time, between our Manu with his divine Bull, whom he names as Dharma himself, or the genius of abstract justice, and the Mneues of Egypt, with his companion, or symbol, Apis; and though we should be constantly on our guard against the delusion of etymological conjecture, yet we cannot but admit, that Minos, and Mneues, and Mneuis, have only Greek terminations, but that the crude noun is composed of the same radical letters in Greek, and in Sanscrit. That Apis, and Mneuis," says the annalyst of ancient mythology, "were both representations of the same personage, appears from the testimony of Lycophron, and his Scholiast, and that person was the same, who in Crete was styled Minos, and who was also represented under the emblem of the Minotaur. Diodorus, who confines him to Egypt, speaks of him by the title of the Bull Mneuis, as the first lawgiver, and says, "That he lived after the age of the gods and heroes, when a change was made in the manner of life among men—a man of the most exalted soul—and that he was a great promoter of civil society, which he benefited by his laws, and those laws were unwritten, and received by him from the chief Egyptian deity Hermes, who conferred them on the world as a gift of the highest importance."

With respect to the laws of Manu, Sir W. Jones adds; "If Minos the son of Jupiter, whom the Cretans, from national vanity, might have made a native of their own island, was really the same person with Manu, we have the good fortune to restore, by means of Indian literature, the most celebrated system of heathen jurisprudence, and this work (the Institutes of Manu) might have been entitled the *laws of Minos*, but the paradox is too singular to be confidently

asserted; and the geographical part of the book, with most of the allusions to natural history, must undoubtedly have been written after the Hindoo race had settled to the south of the Hamalaya."

That the laws of Manu, as they now exist, were written in India, it seems impossible to doubt. Their whole costume is thoroughly Indian, and they express the feelings and aspirations of the Brahmans in their most arrogant form; but all the essential parts of these laws might have existed, at least in an unwritten form, before the Hindoo nations were fully settled in India; or, at all events, before their present religion had come to maturity, or been extended over the whole country. This, in fact, could be easily proved from references in the work itself, to countries now thoroughly Hindoo, as then inhabited by impure races, by which the Brahmans always mean, nations not observing the rules of caste, or of the Hindoo religion. The same laws, however, in most of their essential points, may have been possessed by other branches of the same great Caucasian family, before they migrated westward towards the shores and islands of the Mediterranean; while in the East, some of the earlier Hindoo sages may have collected them, and given them a written form, adapting them to subsequent states of society, peculiar to India, and adding to them most of the religious and ceremonial rules, with which they now so greatly abound. The more intelligent Brahmans always explain the name Manu, as a derivative from the Sanscrit word *man*, used to denote the thinking, or intellectual power, as the Latin mens, and English mind. Had that eminent scholar, Sir W. Jones, lived to see the light that has been thrown, since his time, on the history, and early migrations of Asiatic nations, he would have been still more confirmed in his conjecture, that Manu, Mneius, and Minos were the same person, or rather a series of persons, (for the Hindoos say there were eight Manus) who most probably embodied and taught primative laws, or fragments of laws, some of which may have been derived from the purer source of primeval revelation, but had become much corrupted, in the transmission, by intermixture

with many errors, and superstitions, and perverted by class ascendency, and the despotic power of the stronger races over the weak, leading to the establishment of distinctions of caste, and partial legislation, in favour of the conquering, or ruling tribes; by whom all the honours derived from sacred offices, and nobility of rank, were arrogantly claimed, and systematically monopolized. Some have even supposed the sage Manu to be Noah, but on what grounds, it would be difficult to make out; but that the appellative Manu,—from *man*, mind—may have been used to designate a series of ancient sages, or patriarchs, who in the infancy of society, ruled over, or legislated for, the rising community of mankind, before some of the principal civilized races, entirely separated, from their primeval seats, in the regions of central Asia, it would not seem so unreasonable to suppose; nor is it more than might be expected, that laws and customs carried along with them, by the first large migrations of civilized men, from the countries first peopled after the flood, should have been preserved with veneration, by the main branches of the great human family, however much they may have been forgotten, even at an early period, by the more isolated, and consequently barbarous off-shoots, of the race. That these laws, being most likely unwritten, though some of them, at least, were originally received, by divine revelation, should have been gradually altered, modified, and enlarged, as well as mixed up with many false principles, mistaken conclusions, and superstitious perversions, became inevitable, from the corrupt tendency of human nature, and the ever varying influences, to which, in the course of ages, the communities formed in different countries, and in very dissimilar circumstances, were necessarily exposed. But considering the constant assumption of divine authority, by all the most ancient lawgivers, and the regular admixture of religion, and ceremonial rites, with all their laws, and civil institutions, there is a strong presumption, that the elements of their systems, were regarded by themselves, as originally drawn from a divine primeval revelation. Not only Manu, but Zoroaster, and many others, made pretensions to inspiration, and yet they all professed only to restore

divine laws, that had fallen into neglect, and which, however, much corrupted, and even almost forgotten, were still regarded with veneration by a few, though unknown to the many. The men who were most acquainted with primeval laws and religious institutions, were regarded as prophets, and holy or learned sages, and sometimes even, at least by after ages, as incarnations of Deity; and what they taught as early tradition, whether in reference to civil laws, or sacred rites, however much mixed up with their own speculations, and false pretensions, was still received as divine. Notwithstanding, however, of all their errors, and the false assumption, of a divine legation, to give authority to their doctrines, it is still far from incredible, that, as far as laws of morality are concerned, they may have taught many rules, or principles, that had originally been the subject of divine legislation, to the early ancestors, of the human race; and which had been preserved by patriarchal tradition, and the usages of the most regularly consolidated, and best governed communities; though far from being unobscured by the general corruption, into which all the principal nations, had very rapidly sunk.

However much it may be the usual practice to attribute the origin of moral sentiments to the uninformed instincts of men, to a sort of moral sense, or to the gradual discovery, by experience, of the evil or good consequences arising from certain actions; it is worthy of remark, that neither ancient nor modern heathens ever represent even their greatest sages, of remote antiquity, as having found out moral truths, or laws, by their own reasoning powers. They universally represent such truths, or laws, as having been the subject of direct supernatural teaching, by beings wholly, or partly, divine, during the early ages of the world; and it is a fact, that, independently of the Mosaic and Christian revelations, there is no trace of progress in moral knowledge, in any part of the world, since the commencement of authentic history; but, on the contrary, all the simplest and best systems of pagan morality, as well as of theology, are those that are most ancient, whether we refer to the earliest Greek writings, the Hindoo Vedas, or the sacred books of

any other civilized heathen nation. That a golden age, or a period of comparative light and truth, whatever may have been the actual amount of divine knowledge possessed during its continuance, and however long or short may have been its duration, did really prevail, for a time at least, would seem to be a fact, written with indelible characters on the common traditions of all the great races of mankind, and even on those of more isolated tribes. The fact, especially, that all the most ancient literary works of the principal nations, are, in point of morality, the purest and best, seems decidedly to indicate, that an early, though perhaps not an extensive, revelation existed, which formed the basis of moral laws, and civil institutions, to most of the great nations of the ancient world. The absence of these moral laws, and institutions, among a very few isolated savage tribes, corroborates this view of the subject, as it tends to prove, that though religious and moral sentiments are naturally adapted to the mind of man, he does not receive them by mere experience, nor by intuition, but by instruction from others. Though it is not uncommon for a religious system to be spoken of, as the invention of some individual, there is no such thing in reality as a religion purposely contrived by any one person. Even Muhammadanism was not invented by Muhammad. What he did was merely to form a set of existing opinions and practices into something like a regular system, introducing a few new rules to give it cohesion. The "necessary fiction," that he was a divinely authorized prophet, was the only part of his religion that was pure invention. Almost every thing that he taught was drawn either from Judaism, or corrupted Christianity, ill understood; except what he retained and sanctioned, of the existing laws, customs, and superstitions of his native country, and a few rules very naturally required, by the other changes occasioned in society, and in the popular opinions and altered circumstances of his followers, in consequence of their adoption of the essential principles of his creed. His greatest merit as a legislator, or teacher, consisted in the readiness with which he formed new rules to meet difficult cases, as soon as they arose; and the laws which he formed, from time to time, to meet

unforeseen emergencies, and which he announced as revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, evidently show, that he was possessed of talents for legislation of a very high order. But whether, viewed as a system of religious opinions, of moral rules, or of legal institutions, Muhammadanism was merely constructed, by its founder, out of materials already existing around him. The genius which he displayed in moulding these into a system, or code, to suit the peculiar character of his people, combined with the amazing energy and perseverance, with which he propagated the faith which he had the courage to preach, amidst the greatest opposition from his countrymen, constitute his claim to be regarded as one of the greatest men whom the world has produced, though we cannot admit that his religion, was purely his own invention, or even anything more than a meagre collection of ill assorted dogmas, drawn from existing religions, without any of their more powerful spiritual and poetical elements. Muhammad did not teach a single truth that was new at the time; his whole system being a mere compound of sentiments drawn from other religions that preceded it, without having either the spirituality of the true, or the philosophical depth, and poetical attractions of the false. There is, in short, no trace of anything claiming to be a revealed religion in the world, the doctrines of which can be regarded as purely of human invention, and all that impostors have ever attempted, has been to remodel existing materials, or to claim the rank of prophets or teachers sent from God, if not of being divine emanations; and no system, either of religion or of moral laws, has arisen in any part of the world, the chief elements of which may not be proved to have existed as far back as the very dawn of the historical era; so that there is no evidence of the human mind having ever, unassisted by revelation, arrived at the knowledge of either religion or morality, however much men may have reasoned respecting them, when once they were known.

That all the most ancient sages, and lawgivers, pretended to have received their doctrines from heaven, as Muhammad afterwards did, affords a strong presumption, that from the beginning of the world,

men had been accustomed to believe both their laws and moral opinions to have originally been the subject of divine revelation; and it is not unnatural to think, that such revelation had actually been received, though, being unwritten, it was not long preserved in any degree of purity. Still, however, though greatly obscured, and for the most part lost, or perverted, its most essential principles would never seem to have been entirely forgotten, or erased from the minds of men, but at times were, at least, partially revived, and taught by sages who had made them their study. These, in order to secure respect to their teaching, and obedience to their laws, often pretended to inspiration, and delivered old, or traditionary truths, as new revelations. Such, probably, were some of the most ancient Greek sages—as well as the Zoroaster of central Asia—the Minos of Crete, and Egypt, and the Manu of the Hindoos, as well as many other teachers and lawgivers, of inferior name. They were probably men of talents and reputation, who systematized, or modified traditionary opinions and ancient laws, and very often adding to them more recent enactments, local superstitions, and private, or current sentiments, for all of which they claimed indiscriminately, divine authority, in order to secure their general reception. The constant assumption of a divine legation, could scarcely have been natural, had not men been generally accustomed to look to heaven for laws to direct them; or, at least, had not a strong belief prevailed, that, at some previous period, their ancestors had received the knowledge both of moral laws, and religious rites, from some supernatural source. It is difficult, on any other principle than this, to account for a sentiment so universal among all nations, as that which attributes all primeval religion and law to divine teaching. In India, it is the uniform opinion, even of the most learned, and least superstitious, that, however absurd and false the general religion of the country may have gradually become, the germs, or first principles, out of which it originally sprung, were the subject of a true, but exceedingly ancient revelation—of a very simple character, which inculcated the worship of one God, the source of all being. This one God, however, came

early to be confounded with the elements of nature, and this elemental worship, rapidly degenerated into the present gross system of polytheistic idolatry; with which, however, the worship of the elements, especially fire and light, is still combined; while moral good and evil are described as contending principles, like light and darkness.

CHAPTER XXII.

SUPPOSED DIVINE AUTHORITY OF HINDOO MORAL LAWS.—LAWS RESPECTING MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER, &C.—INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE.—RULES RESPECTING CHASTITY.—PUNISHMENTS DECREED AGAINST THEIR VIOLATION, &C., &C.

THE laws, and moral precepts, generally regarded by a people as of divine obligation, must always form the best index to their sentiments, respecting the ordinary distinctions of right and wrong. What is taught in their most sacred books, on points of morality, usually constitutes their standard rule for judging of either their own conduct or that of others, however much that standard may be practically neglected. Some passages from the laws of Manu, the divine authority of whose rules is fully admitted by all the Hindoos, will enable us to understand, in some measure, the state of moral knowledge among them. Though some of these laws may be regarded as now set aside, or modified by the writings of sages not quite so ancient, yet, with the exception of a few rules, not of the most important character, and chiefly relating to mere ceremonial usages, the main body of them is still in force, and held in the highest veneration.

We shall notice, first, some of those laws and sentiments which refer to the crime of murder. Among all civilized nations this is regarded as the greatest crime, and is visited by the highest punishments, though, among some rude and savage tribes, destroying an enemy is scarcely looked on as reprehensible, if openly and manfully effected, though sometimes disapproved of, when accompanied by deceitful and underhand means. Sometimes, however, any means successfully pursued for the destruction of a personal enemy, are regarded as worthy of praise, rather than of blame. Such loose sentiments, however, are not compatible with the safety of any regular society of men, whose mutual well-being depends on mutual

protection; and no community has long existed in which they have generally prevailed. No society, therefore, can prosper, without systems of law and government, unless it be of the most limited nature, and held together by some peculiar bonds of natural affection.

Whatever may have been the power, or efficiency, of the executive government, at any given time, the written laws of the Hindoos, as well as the popular sentiments of the people, on the subject of murder, are as express as those of the people of any ordinary Christian land; though from the lower state of moral sentiment, and certain peculiarities of doctrine elsewhere noticed, it may not be regarded with such abhorrence as in Europe. I have conversed much with Hindoos of all classes, as well as with heathen of other creeds, but on the subject of murder, I never found any sentiment current among them, different from this—that "He who sheddeth man's blood, by man should his blood be shed." Still, however, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, from body to body, has greatly diminished, in speculative minds at least, a sense of the guilt of murder; as it is not unnatural to reason, that there may be no real harm done to the murdered person, since his next birth may, in all probability, be higher and happier than the present, and even if it should be a little worse than this, it will be but of short duration, while, if he behaves well during it, a better is still within his reach. But it is not likely that such reasoning should be often resorted to, and certainly it is not frequently used, but still it is not altogether uncommon among the speculative; while it must be admitted that, the same abuse might be made of the Christian doctrine, of the certain, eternal blessedness of the righteous. But, perhaps, no murderer ever feels the stings of conscience in any degree blunted, by the reflection, that his victim was a good and virtuous man, whose state in the future world, was most likely to be better than in the present. The thought of his character having been good, is generally felt, as a deep aggravation of the guilt of his murderer.

In the laws of Manu, the murderer is always classed among the greatest of sinners, though, as might naturally be expected, the murder of one of the sacred order of the Brahmans, is always repre-

sented, as a much greater sin than the murder of any other man. This, however, is only what has been common among all nations, both of ancient and modern times. Among the Greeks and Romans, as well as among all other nations, the person of a priest, or of one who performs sacred rites, was held to be inviolable. Thus we find Homer representing the insult done by the Greek leaders, to the priest of Apollo, as the great cause of the disasters which befell them and their army, at the siege of Troy. Even among the professedly Christian nations of Europe, during the middle ages, the same principle prevailed, as was strikingly manifested in our own country in the celebrated case of Thomas á Becket. We need not, therefore, wonder at the inequality of punishments, enjoined in the laws of Manu, when we find that even in Europe, only a few centuries ago, a graduated scale, both of culpability and of punishment, prevailed, according to the sacredness of character, or nobility of rank, either in the murderer, or the murdered person. The murder of a peasant, or of a person of a servile station, by a priest or a nobleman, if noticed at all, was but slightly punished, while that of one of the higher classes by a man of the lower orders, was followed by the most excruciating tortures, and most ignominious death.

It may be necessary to observe, that as Manu delivers his laws in the character of a divine legislatior, he mixes up the punishments to be inflicted on transgressors in this world, by kings or judges, with penances to be voluntarily endured in this life, and with pains to be suffered in the world to come, or in a future birth in this, as the result of the sentence of the Supreme Judge. A crime committed in this life, entails on the guilty sinner, a long series of wretched births and miserable lives, either in this world, or in the infernal regions, unless it is atoned for, by some remarkable virtue, or self inflicted penance. Thus Manu says; "The slayer of a Brahman must enter into the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, a low person, or a demon." This is one of the punishments that he is to expect in the future state, for others are mentioned elsewhere; but in this world, the king, or judge, is ordered to inflict on him, the punish-

ment of death. Punishment by man, in this world, however, does not always exempt from punishment in the future state, unless self-inflicted, or caused to be inflicted, by the sinner himself; who in such a case, is supposed to be truely penitent. A different doctrine, however is taught, in some passages, and the sinner, if duly punished in this life, is regarded, as for ever absolved from his sin, as in the following passage;—"Men who have committed offences, and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go pure to heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well."

Though killing a Brahman is regarded as the greatest crime, there are circumstances in which, it is regarded as comparatively venial. "In their own defence, and in a war for a just cause, and in defence of a woman, or of a priest, he who kills justly, commits no crime. Let a man without hesitation slay another, (if he cannot otherwise escape) who assails him with intent to murder, whether young or old, or his preceptor, or even a Brahman deeply versed in the Scriptures."—"By killing an assassin who attempts to kill, whether in public or in private, no crime is committed by the slayer, fury recoils upon fury." In the law of Moses, the same exception from the guilt of murder is still further extended, to the killing of a house-breaker, found in the act, as appears from Exodus xxii. 2. "If a thief be found breaking up, and be smitten that he die, there shall be no blood shed for him." The killing of a Brahman, even an account of a crime, however, is most strictly forbidden, unless he is, at the moment, engaged in the commission of some act of violence. The following law, on this subject, is quite explicit:—"Never shall the king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with his property secure, and his body unhurt; no greater crime is known on earth, than the slaying of a Brahman, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind, the idea of killing a priest."

This is no doubt the ancient law on the subject, made by the Brahmans themselves, as represented by the mythological sage

Manu; but like many other statutes, the result of class legislation, and sacerdotal assumption, it has not always been practically respected, either by kings, or people. Such laws may be made, but they rarely commend themselves to the suffrages of mankind, without which, though they may be occasionally observed, when it suits convenience, or political expedience, they can never be systematically enforced. Even Hindoo monarchs, occasionally, put Brahmans to death; and engaging, as they always did, in political pursuits, and in all the intrigues of courts, as well as in public wars, they often killed, or were killed, without any distinction being made between them and other men. Brahmans have often been executed, by the British authorities, for murder, which is the only crime in India, that is visited by capital punishment; and as far as I know, the popular sentiments of the Hindoo people, they have always approved of the conduct of government, in subjecting the Brahmans to the same criminal law with other men, whatever may be their claims to exemption, on account of the sacredness of their character.

In another place Manu says, "If a Brahman has killed a man of the sacerdotal class, (that is, another Brahman) without malice prepense, the slayer being far superior to the slain in good qualities, he must himself make a hut in a forest, and dwell in it twelve years, subsisting on alms, to the purification of his soul, placing near him, as a token of his crime, the skull of the slain, if he can procure it, or if not, any human skull."—"The time of penance for the three lower classes, must be twenty-four, thirty-six, and forty-eight years." Here it is to be observed, that the scale is divided into four portions, the Sudras, or lowest class, having to bear punishment, or rather penance, for a period four times as long as that assigned to the Brahman, who has committed the same crime. The lawgiver immediately adds:—"If the slayer be of the military class, he may voluntarily expose himself as a mark to archers, who know his intention, or, according to circumstances, he may cast himself headlong, thrice, or even till he die, into a blazing fire." A great many other fanciful modes of the severest penance are

enjoined, upon Brahmans, who may have committed, either unpremeditated homicide or manslaughter, some of them indeed very unreasonable, or even impossible, but still sufficiently indicating, that though on no account whatever, is any civil ruler or judge directly to take away the life of a Brahman, even for the most aggravated murder, the crime itself is most unequivocally denounced, as the greatest which can be committed, and in every class of men to be visited by the highest penalties, that can be inflicted by society, unless expiated by voluntary penalties, almost worse than death itself. Even manslaughter, is more severely treated than by almost any other code; which shows, at least, the high value, which the ancient Hindoo legislators attached to human life.

Not only is murder everywhere treated of, as an awful crime against society, but as likewise subjecting the perpetrator, to the divine wrath, and plunging him into unspeakable misery, in the world to come—a result which cannot be averted, except by many and long continued acts of voluntary penance, of the most intense and painful description. A crime which is regarded as so heinous in the Brahman, is, according to Hindoo modes of thinking, necessarily looked on as deserving of still greater punishment, though not in itself more blameworthy, when committed by men of inferior castes. On such, it brings down more direct, and much severer punishment from the civil powers, while it entails on them, equal, or even greater, suffering after death. The Brahman is to be punished, by men, with secondary penalties, by degradation, and by self-inflicted penances, and in the future state, he is to sink to a lower and more unhappy condition, than he occupied in this world; while the lower castes are to suffer death, from the sentence of the civil power, and to be visited, likewise, with the greatest calamities in a future birth. Murder is, in general, clearly distinguished from manslaughter, but in some cases there seems to be a want of due discrimination, and the punishments to be inflicted on the latter, as compared with those denounced against the higher crime, are sometimes severer than reason can easily approve. But if killing even

unintentionally was sometimes visited by the ancient Hindoo law, as a crime of no ordinary character, it shows that, so far from the moral feelings of the people, having been of a lax nature, with respect to the taking away of human life, there was among them, on the contrary, a tendency unduly to magnify the turpitude of crimes of this nature, and to punish them too indiscriminately, with the highest penalties that the law could inflict; and to bring, in every possible way, all the terrors of religion, to bear on their suppression.

How far the opinions of the people, in ancient times, corresponded, or how far they may now correspond, with such expressions of approval, or disapproval, of certain actions of a moral nature, found in a work of such antiquity as the Laws of Manu, we do not here stop to enquire. It is sufficient, at present, to keep in mind, that these laws have never been repealed, but are regarded as divine by every Hindoo, though, like all other ancient documents, they may, on some points, be variously interpreted. It is true, that on several subjects, not of so great importance as those of which we have been treating, subsequent Hindoo moralists have sometimes spoken in terms different, or even more lax than those used by Manu; but still, on almost every important subject of right and wrong, apart from a few metaphysical refinements and hair-splitting definitions, no radical difference of doctrine has been seriously advanced or propagated. In fact, while India has always abounded with all sorts of metaphysical speculations, and with endless, and almost unintelligible discussions, not only about abstract things, but also about ceremonial laws, ritual observances, and objects either of superstitious belief or incredulity, defying all power of description or classification, there is but comparatively little difference of opinion, among the people at large, on any subject of great importance in morals. We can always speak to them, in general, as rational men, acknowledging, in common with ourselves, the same essential principles of moral right and wrong.

It may be generally assumed, that most of the moral sentiments, contained in books, regarded universally by any people as sacred,

are, as far as they are known or understood, considered by them to be a moral law, binding them to corresponding conduct; however much that law may be neglected in their daily practice, or even openly contemned by many.

One of the most essential institutions of all civilized society, is that of marriage—an institution without which, in fact, no such society has ever existed, or even could exist, in the present state of human nature. This institution, we are distinctly informed by scripture, was, in the beginning, of divine appointment, and was introduced when the first human pair were the only inhabitants of our globe, and did not, like some other things, become necessary merely on account of human depravity, nor derive its sanction from human laws; but existed in all its perfection before man was in any respect contaminated by sin, or had ceased to live entirely in accordance with the will of his Creator.

In speaking, therefore, of the remains among ancient nations of a primeval revelation, we might, in particular, have referred to the existence of the institution of marriage, and of its fixed laws, among all the civilized nations of the world, from the most ancient times, as one of the subjects of that revelation; for marriage was not a form which human society assumed after the fall, but the divinely appointed state of man, while possessed of perfect purity of nature. That an institution so essentially important, not only to the well-being, but to the very existence of human society, in any regular, or civilized state; and introduced with so much form and distinctness by the Creator himself, should have been handed down by the patriarchs with peculiar care to their descendants, was most natural; and that it was so handed down, and universally received, as a divine law, the earliest traditions, civil codes, and historical remains of all the most ancient civilized nations, most undoubtedly testify. All heathen nations, above the lowest grades of barbarism, have ever regarded, and still do regard, marriage, as really a divine institution, the sanctity of which can only be violated in defiance of the most sacred laws; a disregard to which brings shame and obloquy on families in this world, and in the fu-

ture state, the severest punishments from the hand of the supreme Judge.

Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, has never been countenanced, either by the public laws, or current sentiments of civilized men; and every system, pretending in any form to be a divine revelaton, has acknowledged and fortified the obligations of the marriage compact, by every sanction that can well be conceived of, as either just or possible. It is not, however, to be expected that, among heathen nations, the same delicacy of sentiment should prevail on this subject, as may be found among European Christians. Such delicacy of sentiment, is not only the result of ages of familiarity with the elevating doctrines and holy precepts of the gospel, but has received a peculiar form and expression, from circumstances and habits connected with European climates, and social institutions. Even the language of the Old Testament scriptures, though in use among a people who had divine revelation, and sanctioned by the Holy Spirit, as a suitable medium for the communication of sacred truth, and heavenly instruction, is often marked by the occurrence of phraseology, requiring to be somewhat disguised by periphrasis, or euphuism, in order to prevent impure ideas from being suggested to the minds of European readers; though, perhaps, no such ideas were ever presented by it, to those who used the language as their mother tongue; and whose ordinary habits prevented them from regarding certain expressions, or allusions, as indelicate, which appear so to us, while on some other points their taste may have been even more refined than our own, and their perception of moral congruity quite as accurate.

The eastern nations, however demoralized they may have been, in almost every age, have always had inculcated among them, both by moralists and lawgivers, the strictest notions respecting the importance of conjugal fidelity, though such notions may have been very impotent in the prevention of such crimes as arise from the breach of chastity. If, in this respect, the Hindoos have always been an immoral people, it has not been from the want of knowledge, or of laws enjoining chastity, but from other causes, some of

which are to be found in the gross and licentious legends of their mythology, in which many of the gods themselves are constantly represented as openly indulging in every lust and pollution. But though in this, as well as in other respects, the gods are supposed to have a licence to do as they choose, very definite laws are inculcated on human beings; and female virtue, especially, is the subject of the highest praise. Manu says, "Let mutual fidelity be continued till death; this, in few words, may be considered the supreme law between husband and wife;" and again, "Let a man and a woman, united by marriage, constantly beware, lest at any time disunited, they violate their mutual fidelity."—"A married woman who violates the duty she owes to her husband, brings infamy on herself in this life, and in the next shall enter the womb of a female jackal, or be afflicted with elephantiasis, and other diseases which punish crimes; while she who slights not her husband, but keeps her mind, speech, and body devoted to him, attains his heavenly mansion, and by good men is called virtuous. Yes, by this course of life it is, that a woman, whose mind, speech, and body, are kept in subjection, acquires high renown in this world, and in the next the same abode with her husband." Thus we find, that the husband's virtue being taken for granted, the virtuous wife is to share his blessedness in the future state, but in these passages nothing is said about the rewards of virtuous women, whose husbands, on account of their sins, may be doomed to suffering; though it is not a doctrine of Hinduism that the wife necessarily shares the fate of her husband, but if her husband is a good man, and she performs to him the duties of a good and faithful wife, she is promised the privilege of being again his companion, and sharing his happiness in the next birth, where both will enjoy the reward of their virtues.

With respect to the punishment of men for criminal conversation with other men's wives, Manu says, "That men who commit overt acts of adulterous inclination for the wives of others, let the king banish from his realm, having first punished them with such bodily marks, as excite aversion, or such as render it impossible

that they should repeat the crime; since adultery causes, to the general ruin, a mixture of classes among men, and thence arises violation of duties, and thence is the root of felicity quite destroyed. A man before noted for such an offence, who converses in secret with the wife of another, shall pay the first of the three amercements. But a man not before noted, who converses with her, for some reasonable cause, shall pay no fine, since in him there is no transgression." This latter rule was, no doubt, intended to protect the characters of respectable women from reproach. The above laws are certainly much stricter than those of England, where a man man may seduce, and ruin a married woman with impunity, if he is only prepared to pay a sum of money to her husband; the gross immorality of requiring only a money qualification for liberty to commit adultery, meeting with much less opposition, in a land professedly Christian, than the law which requires a similar qualification in voters for a member of parliament. The Hindoo law declares, "That to touch a married woman on the breasts, or in any other improper manner, or being touched unbecomingly by her, to bear it complacently, are adulterous acts with mutual consent."—"A man of the servile class, who commits actual adultery with the wife of a priest, ought to suffer death." In the Mosiac law, it is ordained, (Lev. xxi. 9,) that the daughter of a priest who has committed fornication, shall be burnt with fire. It is not stated in Manu, however, that the woman shall be put to death, but such seems to have been the law, in general, among the ancient Hindoos.

In cases of suspicion, an ordeal to be passed through, by the woman, in the presence of the priest, was appointed by Moses. In ancient times, in India, an ordeal, sometimes by fire, was in use, in such cases, among the Hindoos, conducted with religious rites, as we find illustrated in the Rámáyan, by the celebrated case of Seeta, the wife of Rám Chander, who passed through such an ordeal to clear her character of any suspicion that might rest on it, in consequence of her having been forcibly carried off by the monster Rawan, king of Ceylon, and detained as a prisoner under his power.

The Hindoo books, in general, are full of stories illustrative of the fact that, female chastity has always been highly regarded, and carefully protected, in India. The heroines of many a mythological romance, are constantly held up as models of virtue, and their names are the favourite female names in every family; and however much several of the goddesses, some of whom at least, are merely allegorical beings, representing the powers of nature, may be described by the poets as loose in their morals, the Hindoo writers rarely ever introduce as an important character in their works, far less as a heroine, any such unchaste woman, as the Helen of Homer, or the Dido of Virgil. In order to protect the character of women, the following rule is prescribed:—"Let no man converse, after he has been forbidden, with the wives of others. He who converses, after husband, or father, has forbidden him, shall pay the fine of one suvarna. He who vitiates a damsel without her consent, shall suffer corporeal punishment instantly, but if the damsel has been willing he shall not be corporeally punished, if his caste be the same." The Mosaic law on this case is not materially different, requiring merely a fine in money, equal to what the father might expect to have received for her, on granting her in marriage, had she remained a virgin; unless her seducer might consent to marry her, and her father be willing to bestow her on him.*

In reference to any case in which the consent of the woman might not be so clear, the Hindoo lawgiver says, "Of the man, who through insolence, contaminates a damsel, let the king instantly order two fingers to be amputated, and condemn him to pay a fine of six hundred panas." Virgins, among the Hindoos, are generally betrothed, a considerable time before they are marriageable, and consequently, they are not often referred to as really moral agents, being regarded as children under the complete control of their parents, or other relatives. They are married, in general, and *always in respectable families, before there can be any great danger* of them falling

* See Exodus xxii. 15, 16.

into any actual sin of the nature referred to. Hence, nearly all direct laws, or rules of chastity, are supposed to have reference principally to the conduct of married women, or of widows. The latter, among Hindoos of the higher castes, especially, as we have stated elsewhere, are not, by their customs, permitted to marry again; and as a marriage is held to be valid, if a regular ceremony of betrothment has taken place, even in infancy, a great many young women have become widows in their father's houses, whose marriages have never been consummated. These young women, especially when their parents are poor, are exposed to great temptations, and often form illicit connexions, or become abandoned to prostitution, being utterly debarred from all hopes of honourable marriage. A movement, however, in opposition to this unreasonable custom, has commenced among the Brahmans, as the result of the abolition of Suttee, and the decline of the sentiments on which that cruel rite was founded; and prizes have been offered to young Brahmans who will boldly depart from the old custom, and marry young widows of unblemished character. The moral effects of this change of custom, when once it has fully taken place, in the promotion of female chastity in the class affected by it, will, no doubt, be considerable, as tending much to remove the temptations to which they are so peculiarly exposed.

With respect to a woman, of respectable caste, guilty of infidelity, Manu says, "Should a wife, proud of her family, and of the great qualities of her kinsmen, actually violate the duty which she owes to her lord, let the king condemn her to be devoured by dogs, in a place much frequented." In the ninth chapter of second Kings, we find the same sort of punishment denounced, and executed, on Jezebel. The whoredoms, however, with which she was charged, consisted, probably, in the introduction of idolatry, which is always in the Old Testament spoken of as adultery, being a departure from allegiance to the God of Israel, like that of an unchaste woman from her husband, when she becomes the paramour of another man. This mode of expression, however, may have naturally arisen from the fact, that the kind of idolatry, by which the Israelites were

surrounded, and into which they most frequently fell, in periods of national declension, was that practised by the Canaanites and the Sidonians, which was of the most obscene and licentious character, and presented the greatest attractions to the sensual and depraved.

The following sentence is denounced by the Hindoo lawgiver against a man who has been guilty of adultery. "Let them place the adulterer on an iron bed well heated, under which the executioners shall throw logs continually, till the sinful wretch be burned to death." This punishment is certainly sufficiently severe; but whether or not the ancient Hindoos were ever in the habit of actually inflicting it, I am unable to say. Its existence, however, in their sacred laws, proves at least, that the crime of seducing another man's wife, was regarded by them, as one of great aggravation; and shows, what it is here adduced to confirm, that the people of India always possessed a distinct and even strict moral law on this subject, and if their conduct was, or is, distinguished by immorality, or impurity, it must have been, and still is, in defiance of injunctions which are regarded by them as divine, and not in consequence of an ignorance, which prevented them from having a conscience of evil, when they violated the rules of chastity; so as in any degree to exonerate them from moral responsibility.

Ignominious shaving of the head and beard, a mode of punishment regarded as peculiarly degrading, is ordained for an adulterer of the priestly class, while sometimes the punishment of similar offenders belonging to other castes, is ordered to be extended even to death; especially when the parties are so nearly related as to be forbidden to intermarry. Manu says, "Carnal commerce with sisters by the same mother—with little girls, with women of the lowest mixed classes, or with the wives of a friend, or of a son, the wise must consider as nearly equal to the violation of the paternal bed. He who knowingly and actually has defiled the wife of his father, spiritual, or natural—that is, either the wife of his tutor, who is always called a spiritual father, or his own stepmother—she being of the same caste with himself, must extend himself on a heated iron bed, loudly proclaiming his guilt; and embracing the red hot iron image

of a woman—he shall atone for his crime by death." This mode of punishment would seem to be referred to in Rev. ii. 22, Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation; except they repent of their deeds." In giving directions to Brahmans, respecting the performance of religious ceremonies, Manu says, "He who caresses a Sudra woman, after he has been invited to sacred obsequies, takes on himself all the sin that has been committed by the giver of the repast."—"Let him show no particular attention to the wife of another man, since nothing is known in this world so obstructive to length of days, as the culpable attention of a man to the wife of another."

From these passages, it is very manifest, that whatever may be the amount of unchastity, among the heathen in India, their most sacred books distinctly denounce it as sinful; and though these books themselves, may not be so current among the common people, as our Holy Scriptures may be in most Christian lands, yet the sentiments contained in them, on such subjects, are well known, and universally repeated.

There is, no doubt, a great deal of moral feebleness in the character of the people, affecting, in an especial degree, that of the women; the lower orders of whom, at least, receive nothing that can be called education, unless in the performance of household duties. Even the higher classes of women, are kept so much in a state of seclusion in their own houses, and under the control of their more elderly female relatives, till such time as they are past the prime of life, that their real moral character is but little tried, and it is next to impossible to know, whether or not, they would have the virtue, or principle, to resist temptation, should they become, in any considerable degree, exposed to it. The general sentiment respecting them among their own countrymen is, that their moral principle is too feeble to be trusted, and therefore, the greatest care is taken to preserve them from temptation; and they themselves, regard seclusion from general society, as becoming and decent in women of character and respectability, and would be shocked at the idea, of publicly associating with the other sex.

They are not, therefore, as has often been supposed, the involuntary inmates of harems, but they themselves regard such seclusion from male society, with the exception of that of near relatives, as a mark of gentility and female delicacy. The system of seclusion, however, necessarily enfeebles their moral principles, and renders them an easy prey to seducers, when unavoidable circumstances may occasionally throw them in the way of temptations; and hence there is a general distrust in the firmness of even the best of the sex, which in its various modes of operation, reproduces a want of self-reliance, and stedfastness of character. Women, finding that they are never trusted, act like children, and are too thoughtless to keep cautiously out of temptation; and while they manifest much shyness, and outward modesty in their demeanour, there is reason to fear that there is little virtue of the higher order among them, though it might be too much to say, that, there is not likely to be any. There is, however, no want among them of the general knowledge and recognition of rules of chastity, and if these are ill observed, we must find the cause somewhere else than in ignorance of moral laws, or precepts on the subject.

The above quotations from the Hindoo scriptures, will be sufficient to show, in what light crimes of this class have been regarded in India; and the strong sense which their authors have entertained of their turpitude, and of the evils which they are calculated to bring on human society. The denunciations also against unnatural crimes of every description, and the punishments ordered to be inflicted on their perpetrators, show that they were considered most base and pernicious, and if possible to be extirpated; and the wretches found guilty of them, to be held up to universal abhorrence, and execration.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HINDOO LAWS AND SENTIMENTS RESPECTING TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD.—PUNISHMENTS DECREED FOR FALSE WITNESSES, THIEVES, AND SWINDLERS.—DEFECTIVE MORAL SENTIMENTS ON SUCH SUBJECTS.—THE GODS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOVE MORAL LAWS.—PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE POPULAR MYTHOLOGY.

No virtue is, perhaps, more rare among civilized heathen nations, than that of veracity. In this respect their moral character is generally lower even than that of more barbarous tribes, some of whom have been found to pay very considerable attention to truth-telling; though this is not always to be regarded as any very decided evidence of virtue on their part. Society among them is so simple, and their affairs are always so uncomplicated, and well known to each other, that they have rarely anything of importance to conceal, and little to gain by deceiving their neighbours; and consequently their temptations to violate truth are comparatively weak. When, however, individuals of such tribes have been placed in other circumstances, which have brought them into contact with the allurements, and more varied interests of civilized society, they have rarely exhibited much superiority to others in truthfulness. The aborigines of some of the mountainous districts of India, maintain a considerable reputation for telling truth, while at home; but, as far as I am aware, it has not been remarked, that those of them who have settled in the plains, either as traders, or labourers, are superior, in this respect, to the rest of the people.

The unenviable distinction of being the greatest liars in the world, has sometimes been awarded to the Hindoos, and yet some of those who have had considerable intercourse with several of the nations contiguous to India, have declared that the Hindoos, compared with many of their eastern neighbours, are almost a truth-telling people. Falsehood is almost universal, and though in some

individuals there may be much less deceit and cunning than in others, telling the truth *on principle* is a very rare virtue, though, perhaps, it would be too severe to say, that such a virtue does not exist among them at all. Among the lower orders there is scarcely, perhaps, a man to be met with, who would not readily tell a direct lie, either to gain an object, or to give vent to angry and malignant feelings; but among the higher classes, there is a general recognition of the principle of personal honour, requiring an adherence to truth.

But though there is undoubtedly a great want of veracity, falsehood is still readily acknowledged as a sin, and truthfulness as a virtue. The knowledge of a moral distinction between these, is accurate enough, for all practical purposes, though there may be a very great disregard paid to it. Falsehood is even very often openly excused, or extenuated, but that in itself, it is wrong, is universally admitted, and even by the most ignorant, it is always spoken of, as deserving of punishment. Whatever may be their own conduct, they openly profess to regard falsehood as culpable, though they will almost invariably maintain, that, in this wicked world at least, it is entirely unavoidable. Even among European nations, though there may be little dispute about the morality, or immorality of falsehood in general, the amount of lying is fearfully great, and attempts at extenuation, are very far from uncommon. The popular creed, however, among nominally Christian nations on this subject, is generally sound, whatever may be the practice; and even that of the Hindoos, though in some important points defective, is such, that were it well observed, would greatly improve their character, as it respects truthfulness.

On the sin of lying, and especially of giving false evidence in courts of law, the injunctions contained in the Hindoo Books could not possibly be more explicit, than they are, as the following quotations will distinctly show. Manu says, "Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go, with a potsherd, to beg food, at the door of his enemy." He does not, however, say how this

punishment is to come upon him, but he most likely means, that it will overtake him in a future birth, so that he is thus doomed by fate to expiate his crime. Again he says, "Headlong into utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely."—"The gods are acquainted with no better mortal in this world, than the man, of whom the intelligent spirit, which pervades his body, has no distrust when he prepares to give evidence." Here very distinct reference is made to the mind, acting as a conscience, judging properly between the true and the false in evidence, and approving or disapproving of the testimony to be given by a man, when acting as a witness. What the Hindoo Shasters mean by the phrase "Self satisfaction," is much the same, as we mean by the word conscience—or the Latin phrase "*mens conscia recti.*"

Where Moses says "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," (or to a vain thing, that is, to a falsehood) for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain. Manu declares, "Let no man of sense take an oath in vain, or on a trifling occasion, for the man who takes an oath in vain, shall be punished in this life, and in the next." These two enactments seem to me, to be nearly equivalent, while the one from the Hindoo Shaster specifies punishment in the future state, which the Mosaic code, though undoubtedly divine, no where does. The sanction of this law cannot be considered as of less authority, in the mind of a Hindoo, than that of Moses, in the mind of an Israelite, the lawgiver in both instances being regarded as delivering, not a private opinion, but a divine rule. The coincidence indeed, between these two laws, may be more than accidental, and that of Manu may have in part been derived from Moses, or from a source even more ancient than the time of that patriarch. The threatening of divine punishment, however, in a future state, could not be derived from the law of Moses, which does not itself, anywhere refer to punishment beyond death. In fact the doctrines of rewards and punishments in the world to come, is far more fully and distinctly taught in the Hindoo Shasters, than in any of even the later books

of the Old Testament Scriptures, and those who would trace the sentiments of the people of India to the spread of the Israelites among the eastern nations, would require first to ascertain what the ancient Jews themselves knew on such subjects. That the later Jews, or those who lived subsequently to the Babylonish captivity, many of them at least, held sentiments respecting the future state similar, in some degree, to those of the Hindoos, is admitted, but these they did not teach to the nations among whom they were scattered, but on the contrary, learned them during their dispersion among the Medes, Bactrians, and Persians, who were of the same stock as the Brahmans of India. Though a future state is refered to in the Psalms and prophets, the Hindoo doctrines, respecting it, are nowhere taught, and therefore, could not be derived from the Jewish Scriptures.

The Hindoo Shasters again say, "He who describes himself to worthy men, in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful wretch in the world; he is the worst of thieves, a stealer of minds. All things have their sense ascertained by speech; in speech they have their basis, and from speech they proceed; consequently a falsifier of speech falsifies every thing." "A witness who gives testimony with truth shall obtain exalted seats of beatitude and the highest fame here below."—"Such testimony is revered by Brahma himself. The witness who speaks falsely, shall be fast bound in the snaky cords of Varuna (the regent of waters) and be wholly deprived of power to escape torment, through a hundred migrations, or births. Let mankind, therefore, give no false testimony. By truth is a witness cleared from sin; by truth is justice advanced. Truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of every class." These injunctions, it will be seen, are as strict as any to be found in the laws of Moses, and the punishments denounced against falsehood, and especially perjury, are of the severest possible kind.

The following beautiful sentiment occurs in Manu, and shows a very distinct appreciation of the moral excellence of truth. "*The soul itself is its own witness. The soul is its own refuge. Offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme internal witness of men.*"—"The sinful

have said in their heart none sees us; yes, the gods distinctly see them, and so does the spirit in their own breast." This latter sentence, it will be perceived, bears a striking resemblance to an important class of passages on the same subject in the Holy Scriptures, such as Prov. v. 21. "For the ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his goings; and Heb. iv. 13, "Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and open to the eyes of him, with whom we have to do." In reference to the giver of false evidence we find also the following declaration. "That whatever places of torture have been prepared for the slayer of a priest, for the murderer of a woman or of a child, for the injurer of a friend, and for an ungrateful man, those places are ordained for a witness, who gives false evidence." "The fruit of every virtuous act which thou hast done, O good man, since thy birth shall depart from thee to dogs, if thou deviate in speech from the truth. O friend to virture, that supreme spirit which thou believest one and the same with thyself, resides in thy bosom perpetually, and is an all-knowing inspector of thy goodness or of thy wickedness." There could not be any more distinct recognition of conscience than this.

But though the above passages are very strong and explicit, in the inculcation of truth, and the denunciation of falsehood, especially of false evidence in courts of law, we find, nevertheless, that almost all Hindoo moralists, and even Mann himself, allow, that a falsehood may, in certain cases, be told, when the end to be accomplished by it is good, or benevolent. On this point, he says, "If a person knowingly gives false evidence from a good motive, it is no sin; nay, such evidence is the speech of the gods, and shall be gloriously rewarded." In another place, he says, "In some cases a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven; such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods." It is thus acknowledged, that as a general principle, applicable to all ordinary occasions, giving false evidence is very sinful; but still it is admitted, that the sin is not so great as to counterbalance the evils that might arise from speak-

ing the truth in certain delicate, or difficult circumstances. On this point some Christian moralists of no small celebrity, have come to a similar, and no less unsatisfactory, conclusion; though the Hindoo writers are less cautious in the admission of cases of exception. Dr. Paley says, "Where the person to whom you speak has no right to know the truth, or, more properly, where little or no inconvenience results from the want of confidence, in such cases; as where you tell a falsehood to a madman, for his own advantage—to a robber, to conceal your property—to an assassin, to defeat, or to divert him from his purpose. The particular consequence is, by the supposition, beneficial, and, as to the general consequences, the worst that can happen, is, that the madman, the robber, the assassin, will not trust you again; which—besides that the first is incapable of deducing regular conclusions, from having been once deceived, and the two last are not likely to come a second time in your way—is sufficiently compensated by the immediate benefit which you propose by the falsehood." By taking extreme cases, the dangerous doctrine here taught looks somewhat plausible. Manu, however, goes more boldly forward than Archdeacon Paley, in his application of the same doctrine, by laying it down as a maxim—"That to save the life of a Brahman, or to appease an angry wife, falsehood may be innocently spoken." The end, in short, it is supposed, will sanctify the means, and doing evil that good may come, is, in certain difficult circumstances, to be regarded, not only as unblameable, but praiseworthy. Making admissions of this kind, must always be exceedingly dangerous to morals, as they violate the integrity of an important principle, and tend to make men regard a prudent concern for their own safety, or prosperity, as a rule of moral judgment, with respect to their own speech or actions. Such admissions might easily be carried so far, as completely to sap the foundations of the most important distinctions between right and wrong.

But still, however much falsehood there may be in India, and however much it may be extenuated, either by refined quibbles or more vulgar excuses, there can be little doubt but that speaking the

truth in simplicity is both inculcated, and regarded as a mark of a good and virtuous man; while lying is looked on as an evidence of meanness and social degradation. This is well known to all who are intimate with the natives, and especially with the higher and more respectable classes. But while such is the case generally, and while lying is very often spoken of as not only morally evil, but as low and contemptible, it is exceedingly prevalent even in the highest circles, both among Hindoos and Muhammadans, as well as universal among the lower orders of people of both religions. Many of those who would be ashamed and vexed were they openly detected themselves telling a lie, regularly employ their own servants, or other low persons, to tell lies for their advantage, or even to give false evidence in legal causes in which they may be concerned. The suborning, directly or indirectly, of false witnesses in courts of law is a practice exceedingly common even among the most respectable classes; and this is quite sufficient to show that, a genuine love of truth is but a rare thing, even among those whose wealth and rank give them importance and influence among their fellow-countrymen.

The phrase, that "Telling lies is contrary to every religion," is in every one's mouth in India; but so also is another, that "Lies are told in every religion." The one is expressive of the general belief, that there is no religion so bad as not to forbid lying; while the other declares the common opinion, that men of all creeds are equally chargeable with the practice. Every man's religion is, therefore, supposed to be exonerated from all blame that may arise from his practice in this respect; as it is admitted, on all hands, that no religion is so bad as to teach its votaries to tell lies, as all systems of religion agree in forbidding falsehood, and in promising rewards to the man who invariably speaks the truth. On this, as on other moral subjects, the admission is next to universal, that men know a great deal more of the laws of morality than they choose to put in practise; and that they, in general, regard themselves as subject to a law, of any correct obedience to which, they most obviously and confessedly come short, but which strictly binds them to speak

nothing but the truth. Whatever, therefore, may be the extent of their knowledge of a divine law, binding them to strict veracity, they are ready to acknowledge themselves, in general, as falling very far short in obedience to well known rules, which they admit to be a proper standard by which their actions ought to be judged. But though the evil of falsehood is readily admitted by almost every one in India, a large proportion both of men and women, in that country, openly maintain, that as the world now exists, and as human society is constituted, and its customs observed, the law of strict veracity is too difficult for man, and may, therefore, without any very great sin, be occasionally neglected. The law itself is not denied, but man has become so depraved, and the world around him, both morally and physically, so degenerate, that he must, in one way or another, be excused for keeping it in abeyance. They admit that "the law is holy, just, and good, but confess that they are carnal, sold under sin," and that once having given themselves up to falsehood, there is now no power in them, systematically, to tell the truth.

Stealing, cheating in business, and evading public claims, as well as the various other forms of swindling and dishonesty, are regarded as vices, being all distinctly forbidden by the sacred laws of the Hindoos, and more or less reprobated by the general sentiments of the people, unless among a very few of the most degraded classes, whose minds, by some very peculiar causes, have become unusually perverted. In India, the rights of property are fully recognized, and secured, by laws as definite as any existing among the nations of Christendom. Such laws are distinctly understood by all classes in the community; and however much moral principles may be relaxed and overlooked in their application, there is, at least, no confusion in the minds of the people about the rights of property. Honesty and dishonesty, are as well understood, and as clearly defined, on the banks of the Ganges as on those of the Thames. though some of the written maxims on the subject are mixed up with others so purely of a ceremonial nature, that it is not always easy to present them in a definite form. Many quotations, however,

are not necessary to prove that the people of India know the difference between honesty and dishonesty. The existence of a complete system of laws for the protection of property, and the severity of the punishments usually inflicted on thieves, robbers, and swindlers, of every description, are sufficient to show, that on this essential department in morals, the people of India were by no means destitute of fixed principles for their guidance in judging of right and wrong, long before either Muhammadans or Christians had arrived in the country, or exerted any influence on their national laws, sentiments, or ordinary institutions. Theft is certainly very common in India, and almost every kind of cheating and swindling is largely practised. The skill and ingenuity of Indian thieves, especially, would often put to the blush the most expert practitioners of similar arts in Europe. Dishonest artifices of almost every description are carried on, with an expertness truly astonishing, and often completely beyond the power of all European sagacity to detect, and the unblushing composure with which a Hindoo will swear to every part of a complicated fabrication, skillfully invented to hide dishonest or fraudulent conduct; is such as can rarely be equalled, even by the most practised reprobates in Europe.

All the deceitful contrivances, however, in use for covering acts of dishonesty, are calculated to show that honesty is really regarded as an important virtue, and dishonesty as a disgraceful vice; for men will not, generally, even in India, tell lies or perjure themselves to conceal actions, which they do not believe to be either wrong, or dishonourable. The greater the supposed vice of an action, the more anxious will a man be for its concealment. Were theft and cheating not considered generally as sinful, or at least discreditable, so many lies would not be told and even sworn to, in order to conceal them; nor would the name of a thief and a swindler be looked on as infamous. Such, however, notwithstanding all the depravity of morals among the Hindoos, is the light in which such characters are, for the most part, regarded, and though petty larceny may often be looked on with much more leniency than in Europe, there is not much difference in the sentiments

usually expressed, in reference to thieves and robbers of notoriety, from those current among the ordinary classes in Europe, respecting men of the same character. There is a strong tendency among men of all countries, to admire superior talents, or dexterity, however employed, and hence the exploits, not only of celebrated pirates and robbers, but even of house-breakers, and common thieves, when evincing great tact and ingenuity, or presence of mind, and great personal courage, become sometimes the subjects of such intense interest, that the turpitude of the actions in which these qualities were called forth, is not unfrequently almost entirely forgotten. The highly talented, or, perhaps, finely accomplished, and personally courageous villain, becomes insensibly invested in the minds of the thoughtless, with the attributes of a hero, and many who are not absolutely vicious themselves, begin, before they are aware, to regard him, not in the light of a common scoundrel, but as an object of admiration, on account of his audacity, and manliness of character. The success of his adventures, though in themselves the most pernicious crimes, has a certain charm, which, by working on the imagination, bewilders the judgment of the inconsiderate, and leads many of them to look on him with indulgence, if not as a person of singular merit, yet as one having many noble qualities. The detestable nature of his real character is almost forgotten, and his talents and hardihood occupy so much attention, that his very vices are regarded as virtues, especially if his conduct is often marked by some of that rude, and reckless generosity, occasionally exhibited, even by the most depraved of mankind, when under the influence of temporary feelings, or peculiar excitements.

It need not, therefore, be a matter of great surprise, if, occasionally, daring thieves and robbers should be looked on in India with a degree of indulgence, or as a sort of heroes, among a heathen people, when we find that a popular English writer of the present day, could make a hero out of a common London house-breaker, in whose exploits a large portion of the people of the British metropolis could actually sympathize. The admirers of the doings of

Jack Shepherd, could not be in a much higher moral state, than those of the similar doings of the god Krishna, while the latter have some more excuse for their taste, in the antiquity and poetical character of their hero, who, if he did mischief, is also supposed to have done much good, by ridding the world of tyrants, and sustaining, and protecting the poor and the oppressed, for whose deliverance he is represented as having become incarnate on earth. Even the most refined heathen nations have not been above attributing to their gods, not merely falsehood, but gross dishonesty. Some of them are represented as the patrons of thieves, for whom they have, from similarity of character, a peculiar fellow feeling. The god is not supposed to have the power of forgiving theft, but of helping men to steal with impunity, and is even himself sometimes represented as receiving punishment for pilfering, at the hands of gods of still higher power, who, in their turn are also subject to castigation for other offences. A common appellation of Krishna, is Makhan Chor, or Butter Stealer, from having, when a boy, plundered the churns of the milk-women of Bindraban. For this fault, he was about to receive a caning from his foster-mother, who first, however, made him open his mouth, to see if there were any marks of his having been eating the stolen butter, for he had told a lie to conceal it. On looking into his mouth, she beheld, at one view, the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell, which at once made her throw away the cane, and laugh at her own thoughtlessness, in forgetting that he was a god, and might, therefore, do as he pleased; the laws of *meum* and *tuum* not being applicable to him, any more than any other rule of common morality. The gods are prayed to by thieves, for protection in their vocation, and vows are made to present part of the booty at their shrines, if they will only aid them, in their plundering expeditions. Even the Thugs make offerings to the gods, and especially to the goddess Debi, whose powerful aid they solicit in the plundering and murdering of travellers, part of whose spoils they promise to bring to her shrine, should she prosper them in their horrid work. There is nothing in the supposed character of the object of their worship, to render this proceeding in any way

inconsistent with their notions of religion. The morality of the actions, in which her assistance is solicited, is not regarded as any part of her concern; the honour done to herself, being the only thing about which she cares. She is believed to be willing to assist those who honour her with worship and offerings, in any enterprise, whether good or evil. "No blame is to be attached to the powerful," is a declaration to be heard from the lips of every Hindoo; and is always used with an especial reference to the gods, who are supposed to be above all law, and to be governed by the principle that "might is right." The divine right of the gods to do wrong, is not to be called in question. Laws are for men, and not for gods, and what may be wrong in men is not so in them. The distinction between right and wrong is not supposed to be essential, but arbitrary, and, therefore, superior beings are not to be considered blameworthy, if they commit many things, that in men would be most criminal, and deserving of the severest punishment.

That a people worshipping gods of this kind, should practically apply a higher standard to their own conduct, than that supposed to be observed by their deities, is not to be expected: even though they may readily admit themselves, to be amenable to laws, not binding on the gods, and as most of these gods are thieves or liars, the practice of theft and falsehood among men, cannot be looked on, in a very serious light. Ingenuity in theft, and swindling, and clever deceits to hide their delinquencies, become, not unnaturally, the themes of many of the most popular stories; and those who have successfully practised them, the objects of great admiration, while the consequence must be, the encouragement of falsehood and dishonesty. A man who steals, or swindles cleverly, and conceals his crime, by ingenious lies and specious tricks, is not so much regarded, in the light of a criminal, as in that of a person of very uncommon sagacity. Tales about clever rogues, who have managed to overreach others, by great address or cunning, are generally the most popular among the people. The following specimen will give an idea of their character.

"An old goldsmith, being on his death bed, called his three sons, and after giving them much good advice about their conduct, asked the youngest how many parts of a gold coin he could manage to steal for himself, when employed by any one to make it into ornaments, or any other article that might be required. He replied, that he thought he could manage to appropriate a fourth." "You," said the father, "will never succeed in life." The second said, that he thought he could take a third; and the third son, perceiving that his father was not pleased even with this, said, he could steal one half. "None of you are my sons," exclaimed the dying wretch. When I was young I could take to within a sixteenth of the whole!" On one occasion a Rája called all the goldsmiths, and told them to make a golden image of Krishna; but as goldsmiths were not to be trusted, and as the image was to be of pure gold, they must work on the following conditions. The one who was to do the work, should every day be locked up in a small room, and be well guarded, and searched every morning and evening, as he went in and out. All the goldsmiths remained silent, as they thought little could be made on such conditions. At last I said, O, mighty prince; these men study only their own advantage; and as your wisdom has laid a plan, which makes it impossible for them to steal, they will not agree to your conditions; but I expect a place in heaven for this good work, and will rely on your bounty for any further reward. The Rája was much pleased, and having ordered the gold to be weighed out, he had me stripped naked and set to work, in a room guarded inside and outside. Every night I was let out, after being searched; but each night, in a private place in my own house, I continued to make a brazen image, exactly like the other. Every screw and nail I made quite similar. When both were finished, I filled my brazen image with lead, and gilded it over with gold. When the golden image was finished, the Rája came to see it. I then prostrated myself before him and said, O great prince, I am a very poor man, and have suffered every disgrace to please you; now grant my prayer, and permit me to carry the image to the Ganges, on the day of its

consecration. The Rája consented, but ordered that guards should surround me on all sides. I proceeded with the image to the Rája's ghát, and entering the holy stream, amidst the acclamations of the people, I immersed the golden image, and at the same time my whole body; and taking up the brazen image, which I had put there before, presented it to the Rája, and bowing at his feet, asked for my reward; who, being much pleased, paid me liberally. At night I went to the river, for the golden image, and having melted it down, disposed of the gold at my leisure." This man would, of course, be regarded as an object of great admiration for his ingenuity, and the sinfulness of his conduct, though admitted, would be very little thought of, among the Hindoos. No one, however, would for a moment speak of it seriously, as positively unblameable, or hold it up as worthy of imitation by others.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MORAL LAWS OF HINDUISM SUFFICIENTLY DISTINCT, BUT SUBVERTED BOTH BY SPECULATIVE DOCTRINES, RELATING TO THE NATURE OF MAN, AND THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS, AND BY THE POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS GENERALLY.—A FUTURE STATE BELIEVED IN, BUT IN A FORM WHICH DESTROYS ITS MORAL INFLUENCE.

Not only in the Hindoo sacred writings, but even among the common, uneducated classes of the people universally, such vices, as anger, hatred, malice, ingratitude, avarice &c., are denounced as sinful; but everywhere, mercy, benevolence, filial affection, trustworthiness, gratitude &c., are daily commended, in a variety of ways, and held up for general admiration, and imitation. There may be the utmost laxity of conduct, but there is no want of power to distinguish respecting the nature, or morality of actions, as springing from any of these dispositions, passions, or states of mind. Nor does Hinduism rest satisfied with legislating merely for external actions, but often takes cognizance of the feelings, motives, and states of mind generally, as constituting, more or less, the good or the evil in human conduct. Thus the Hindoo law declares, that "With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform, in this life, any act, religious or moral,, in a future body, endued with the same quality, shall he receive retribution." The disposition of mind is here recognized as that which gives its moral character to the action, and as, therefore, the principal object of reward, or punishment. This principle is fully recognized in their sacred books, as well as in the ordinay conversation of all classes of the people, whether ignorant or learned.

Again it is said, "A rational creature has a reward, or punishment, for mental acts in his mind, for verbal acts in his organs of speech, for corporeal acts in his bodily frame. For sinful acts mostly corporeal, a man shall assume after death, a vegetable or

mineral form; for such acts mostly verbal, the form of a bird, or a beast, for acts mostly mental, the lowest of human conditions." Mental sins, are thus clearly regarded, as entailing on men degradation in a future birth, but not so low a degradation as results from sins, actually committed, through the intervention of the bodily organs. In both cases, however, punishment in the future state, is denounced, but of course in no case, according to the Hindoo system, is punishment regarded, either as eternal, or final, however great it may be, and of however long duration. Nor are the rewards of virtue, however eminent, either more permanent, or certain. A man may sink to the lowest hell, but even there, he is not beyond the pale of salvation, for even in that miserable region, he may perform some virtuous act, on account of which, he may be immediately released from punishment, and raised to heaven. Or he may be elevated to heavenly blessedness, on account of his virtues, and, in an hour afterwards, he hurled down to earth, or even to the gloomy regions of Tartarus, as a punishment for some sin, or impertinence, committed by him, on entering into the heavenly state. He is neither hopeless in hell, nor secure in heaven. His virtues may raise him to a state of great blessedness, but not to a state in which he will be safe, either from falling into sin, or from suffering its punishment; nor can any amount of vice ever sink him into a state of absolute, or irretrievable misfortune. To him the yawning pit of hell is not bottomless, and even when he feels assured, that he is sinking into it, his motto is still "*Nil Desperandum.*"

The apathy of the Hindoos, in the prospect of death, not unnaturally arises from this peculiarity in their religious sentiments. It certainly does not arise from their having no consciousness of guilt, nor from their either, not thinking of, or not believing in, a state of future rewards and punishments; but from their really believing that, though heaven may be lost, for a time, by evil conduct, in this present, but transitory life, it may yet be secured, by a return to better conduct, even in hell. Manu, indeed, says, "On a comparison between death and vice, the learned pronounce vice the

more dreadful, since, after death, a vicious man sinks into regions lower and lower, while a man free from vice reaches heaven;" but, then, the constant admission of Hinduism, that a man may perform a virtuous action even in hell, on account of which he may not only escape from its miseries, but immediately rise to heaven, necessarily deprives death of part of his sting, and disarms hell of most of its terrors. If the hope of being able to repent on a death-bed, not unfrequently, even among us, soothes the mind of an impenitent sinner, not entirely lost to moral reflection, and enables him to go on quietly in his evil ways, how much more would he comfort his mind, and calm his fears, if he believed that, even if he should go to hell in consequence of leading a most wicked life, it would, after all, be merely one of the vicissitudes of his existence, and that he could soon escape from it, and reach heaven itself, by performing some virtuous, or devotional act, even in the lowest regions of perdition.

The radical defect of the whole Hindoo system of morality is to be found in this universally pervading principle, that "one good action destroys many bad actions;" or that the guilt of many sins is neutralized by the influence of one virtue; and that punishment expiates offences, however great, even though the disposition, or evil habit, from which they originated, may remain unchanged. While, therefore, the evil disposition, or sinful passion, is most fully recognized, as the real source and cause of the sinful action; when the fault actually committed has received its due meed of punishment, the sinner may afterwards receive the reward of any virtuous actions which he may at any time have performed; though the vicious disposition, which led him to commit the actual sin for which he was punished, may remain altogether unchanged. Every virtue is to be rewarded, and every sin is to be punished; and the predominance of happiness or misery in his lot, during the long cycle of births through which he has to pass, is already all written on the balance-sheet in the book of his destiny, in which nothing that has been written by the finger of predestination can ever be blotted out.

It is not, therefore, in the want of discrimination between right

and wrong in respect to moral actions, that the Hindoo is generally defective, for the amount of moral knowledge possessed by him is often very considerable; and the distinctions between virtuous and vicious actions, and even dispositions of mind, are by no means overlooked by him; but, on the contrary, are often very accurately drawn. But the whole system of palliations, introduced by the Hindoo codes of law, and the substitutes for moral obedience so plentifully supplied by a religion skilfully contrived to remove the sense of guilt, without producing any change of disposition, or improvement of character in the sinner, completely divest morality of all its highest, and most influential sanctions. The Hindoo, in general, is not much more ignorant of the principal points of moral duty, than the ordinary classes of men in Europe, who are merely nominal Christians, but not really under the power of divine truth; but then his religion furnishes him with so many different ways of satisfying the demands of conscience, without actually performing such duties as may be disagreeable or difficult, that it becomes, in his eyes, a matter of very little moment, whether he performs them or not. If, for instance, it is not convenient for him to be strictly honest, a small gratuity to the Brahmans, when he can afford it, will set his conscience perfectly at rest. Almost any crime may be atoned for in a similar manner. But, at the very worst, if he should find, after death, that he is doomed to some state of unhappiness, he may, even then, be soon able to retrieve his circumstances, by doing some action particularly good, or by undergoing a temporary penalty, or practising some voluntary austerity, or self-denial.

This doctrine is, therefore, admirably calculated to induce apathy with respect to the world to come. It is certain that it destroys a great part of the moral influence of the many excellent practical maxims, to be found, both in their sacred books, and everywhere current among the Hindoo people of all classes. It is true, indeed, that many passages are to be found in their sacred books, in which both repentance, and the abandonment of sins, are spoken of as necessary to salvation; but these are quite neutralized by other modes of satisfying the conscience more easily, being likewise en-

joined, especially that most popular method of removing guilt, by some trifling offerings to the gods, or Brahmans. On this subject there are numerous passages similar to the following:—"By open confession, by repentance, by devotion, and by reading the Scriptures, a sinner may be released from his guilt, or by almsgiving, in case of his inability to perform the other acts of religion. In proportion as a man who has committed a sin, shall truly and voluntarily confess it, so far he is disengaged from that offence, like a snake from his slough; and in proportion as his heart sincerely loathes his evil deed, so far shall his vital spirit be freed from the taint of it. If he commit sin, and actually repent, that sin shall be removed from him, but if he merely say, 'I will sin thus no more,' he can only be relieved by an actual abstinence from guilt." However much, therefore, repentance, and even abstinence from guilt, may be required, and also sorrow of heart for sin, still almsgiving by itself, though accompanied neither by sorrow nor repentance, will be sufficient to remove guilt. What is meant here by almsgiving, is not relieving the poor and wretched, the widow and the fatherless, but feeding, and giving gifts to, the Brahmans, and religious devotees. The man who has the means and inclination to do this liberally, may freely indulge in any sin for which he has a liking, without being in the least disturbed by concientious qualms.

The best moral precepts are, in this way, easily made void and inoperative, by the principles and rites of religion, which are not brought in for the support of morality, but to mitigate its claims, and indirectly, at least, to encourage the violation of its rules. Thus, in India, now, as it was in Palestine, in the days of our Lord, the best principles of a moral law, believed to be divine, are subverted by traditions, and mere ceremonial observances, introduced by the leaders of the people, as easy substitutes for moral duties. Among the Hindoos, however, though the performance, in all due order of ceremonies of a religious nature, is too often supposed to supply the place of real morality, or to make up for the neglect, or violation of its rules, the great superiority of moral principles to mere religions rites is, nevertheless, very often and emphatically

acknowledged. The following specimen from the Dharm Shaster, is very distinct on this subject. "A wise man should constantly discharge all moral duties, though he perform not constantly the ceremonies of religion, since he falls low, if while he performs ceremonial acts only, he discharges not his moral duties." But such maxims, however good in themselves, are too often found interwoven with what is puerile and superstitious, and frequently also with points of abstract, or mystical doctrines, or with philosophical speculations entirely destructive of their moral influence. They are also constantly combined with sentiments calculated to exalt the claims of the priesthood, and the importance of their offices. These claims are often mixed up with precepts and sentiments in themselves good and useful—as in the following passage:—"Let not a man be proud of his rigorous devotion; let him not having sacrificed, utter a falsehood; let him not, though injured, insult a priest; having made a donation let him never proclaim it. By falsehood the sacrifice becomes vain, by pride the merit of devotion is lost, by insulting priests life is diminished, and by proclaiming a largess, its fruit is destroyed." Were it not for the convenient palliatives introduced by the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, according to which no state is final, or hopeless, but even from the deepest hell a passage still is open to the highest regions of celestial light; the didactic maxims of Hinduism, often in themselves wise and good, might be expected to produce a beneficial influence on the minds of the people, by whom they are regarded as divine; and its denunciations of punishment in a future state, and its promises of heavenly blessedness, might be expected, to have no small effect, in deterring men from vice, and alluring them to virtue. How distinct and good is the following exhortation, "Let not a man be querulous even though in pain; let him not injure another *in deed or in thought*; let him not even utter a word by which his fellow creature may suffer uneasiness, since that will obstruct his own progress to future beatitude." The sentiment here so distinctly expressed is excellent, but the chief principle appealed to is selfishness. It is the great doctrine of Hinduism, that vice, alone abstructs the passsage to

final blessedness; but then virtue and vice, are not unfrequently confounded with ceremonial purity, or with mere ritual uncleanness, which no degree of carefulness can always avoid; so that moral principles are much weakened and obscured, by their being constantly associated with endless and complicated external observances; for nothing so much tends to undermine morality, and to lessen the power of conscience, as a religion which consists entirely in liturgical forms, and mystical rites.

Though in the Hindoo books, the prospect of a future reward for righteous actions is often most vividly depicted, it is at other times involved in the mists, either of metaphysical intricacy, or of vague and trifling speculations. How simple seems the doctrine contained in the following words of Manu:—"A man habitually virtuous, whose offences have been expiated by devotion, is instantly conveyed after death, to the higher world, with a radiant form and a body of ethereal substance." At the first glance, this remarkable passage would seem to teach almost the same doctrine in reference to the future state, as that revealed in the Christian Scriptures. But it is necessary to observe that, while rewards and punishments beyond this life are most distinctly announced, there is nothing said about the permanence, or the eternity of man's future being, either in happiness or in misery, even as it respects the soul, while there is no allusion whatever to the resurrection of the body. Though the virtuous soul passes into a radiant body, that body is not promised to it, as an eternal habitation. It may be ejected from it in an hour. It is said to be an "ethereal body," but, though it may possibly last longer than its present tenement of clay, there is no security even for this, as it soon may be changed for the form of the most loathsome reptile, should its very fallible, animating spirit, commit some sin, or even mistake. The body in which the virtuous soul ascends to heaven, is no more immortal, than that in which it was imprisoned on earth. Its substance is ethereal, but its form is no more destined to perpetuity, than that of any other form of matter, to be beheld among the ever shifting scenes of nature. The body, formerly tenanted by the soul of the virtuous man, has

been "left on the ground, like a log or a lump of clay," with which, in future, he is to have no more concern; and even the brilliant body, arrayed in which he is to ascend to a higher world, is doomed, after a time, to be left like the former. The soul is thus destined to no state of permanent blessedness, till having passed through countless vicissitudes, in almost every possible form of sentient being, it is finally absorbed and lost in the divine consciousness. The highest form of salvation known to Hinduism, is absorption into the divine essence, or what is tantamount to individual annihilation, as the soul will then cease to have any consciousness of individual existence.

When inculcating virtues, the Hindoo moralists dwell constantly, not merely, as many of the Greeks and Romans did, on the benefits to be obtained from virtuous conduct in this life, but on the great and certain rewards, in the world to come. The great doctrine of a future state, is, therefore, used very extensively for its most important object, that of giving weight, and authority, to moral laws. The doctrine is, however, necessarily shorn of most of its power over the hearts, and consciences of men, by the dogma of the transmigration of souls, with which it is connected, and which allays the fears and anxieties of the sinner, by giving quite a temporary character to every state, whether of happiness or misery, to which man can possibly be liable. A state of retribution, after death, is expected, but, in general, the length of its duration is not such as seriously to appal the sinner, or even to deprive him of the hope of altogether escaping everything like severe punishment, as he may easily make up for his delinquency, in some way convenient to himself, or at least not beyond his power, so that his punishment may, perhaps, after all, be turned into a reward.

Still, however, the language used in reference to future retribution is often striking and powerful, and such as would seem calculated to fill the guilty conscience with serious alarm; and that it sometimes has this effect, there can be little doubt. Take the following passage as an example:—"Even here below, an unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from giving false

evidence, nor he who constantly takes delight in mischief. Though oppressed by penury, in consequence of his righteous dealings, let him never give his mind to unrighteousness, for he may observe the speedy overthrow of iniquitous and sinful men. Iniquity committed in this world, produces not fruit immediately, but like the earth, in due season; and, advancing by little and little, it eradicates the man who commits it. Yes, iniquity, once committed, fails not of producing fruit to him who wrought it, if not in his own person, yet in his son's, if not in his son's, in his grandson's. He grows rich for a while, through unrighteousness; then he beholds good things; then it is that he overcomes his foes; but he perishes at length from his whole root upwards." Several passages very like this are to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures, such as Ps. xxxvii. 35, "I have seen the wicked in great power, spreading himself like a green bay tree; yet he passed away, and lo, he was not; yea, I sought him, but he could not be fonnd." In the assertion also that, a man who may escape punishment in his own person, while it may descend on his sons or even grandsons, an assertion very often made in Hindoo books, there is a remarkable coincidence, with the striking declaration contained in the decalogue, and often alluded to in other parts of scripture, "That God visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, even to the third and fourth generations." The principle contained in such passages pervades the Hindoo Shasters, and has no doubt been more or less recognized in every age, since the patriarchal times, probably having been derived from the earliest revelations; and certainly is in strict accordance with the usual course of divine providence, whatever difficulties, it may be supposed to involve.

The doctrine of punishment after death, is very often brought forward in the Hindoo Shasters, in order to impress on kings and other rulers, the necessity of practising justice and abstaining from oppression; especially as they are not so easily reached by punishment in this life; though the latter is also often threatened in the shape of war, rebellion or expulsion from their offices, or thrones. It is declared, that "Unjust punishment (by a king or

judge) destroys reputation during life, and fame after death. It even obstructs in the next life, the path to heaven; unjust punishment, therefore, let the king avoid."—"A king who inflicts punishment upon those who deserve it not, and who inflicts no punishment on those who deserve it, brings infamy on himself while he lives, and shall sink, when he dies, to a region of torment."

With respect to punishment in the future state for deeds done in the body, nothing could be more distinct than the following passage in reference to the duties of kings:—"Be it known, that a monarch, who pays no regard to the scriptures, who denies a future state, who acts with rapacity, who protects not his people, yet swallows up their possessions, will sink low indeed after death." Here we may observe, that, not only are injustice and oppression denounced as sinful, but that the source of them is declared to be disregard of the scriptures, and a disbelief in a future state. Justice is to have its reward after death, and hence it is said to be the true friend that follows man into the unseen world, while the separation of the soul from the body, extinguishes all earthly friendships, and dissolves all the connexions formed in this life, however close and endearing.

The severity of the punishments after death, constantly threatened by the Hindoo scriptures, as following, with certainty, the sins committed in this life, is so very great that they would be truly appaling, were it not that in no case is the Hindoo left entirely without some loop-hole or other, through which he may escape. However much the Shasters may insist on the absolute certainty of future retribution, that retribution is, after all, in every given or supposeable case, still hypothetical. One good act, at all events, may be found to over-balance a number of bad ones, if not of all that the man may have committed, either in this or in many former births; otherwise there is much in the threatenings of punishment to occasion alarm to the transgressor of the divine laws. "The following," says Manu, are to be the punishments of men who indulge in forbidden pleasures:—"Multifarious tortures await

them; they shall be mangled by ravens and owls, they shall swallow cakes boiling hot, shall walk over inflamed sands, and shall feel the pangs of being baked like the vessels of a potter; they shall assume the forms of beasts continually miserable, and suffer alternate afflictions from extremities of cold and of heat, surrounded with terrors of various kinds. More than once shall they lie in different wombs, and, after agonizing births, be condemned to severe captivity, and to servile attendance on creatures like themselves; then shall follow separations from kindred and friends; forced residence with the wicked; painful gains and ruinous losses of wealth; friendships hardly acquired, and at length changed into enmities; old age without resource; diseases attended with anguish; pains of innumerable sorts; and, lastly, unconquerable death!" But terrific as this catalogue of future woes may seem, the same palliation, to which we have alluded, still very opportunely comes in, to the relief of the doomed sinner, and disarms his mind of any very serious terror from such awful threatenings. None of them have reference to a state of being which is to be final or eternal. An everlasting state of either sorrow or joy is unknown to the creed of the Hindoo. All these evils may be escaped, or at all events their duration shortened, by some resolute act of virtue, or of devotion, performed in the future world itself, to which, therefore, repentance and amendment may be safely deferred. It will be time enough to contrive, or put into practice, the means of escaping from hell, when once he finds himself there. To trouble himself very much about it now, would be irksome, and perhaps fruitless. Thus the Hindoo, if he really believes in his own system of doctrines, has his fears respecting his state in the future world composed, whatever may have been his sins, not merely by the maxim, that "as long as there is life there is hope," but also by one even still more agreeable to the spirit of procrastination—that "*There is hope even in Hell.*"

Whatever, therefore, may be the number of good moral maxims in the Hindoo sacred books, and whatever may be the threatenings of punishment so often denounced against sins of almost every kind; it is imposible, as long as human nature continues as it is—and re-

mains uninfluenced by divine power, that any thing like pure practical morality, should spring from rules, however good and unexceptionable, while the transmigration of souls, and their ultimate absorption into the devine essence, constitute the basis of the popular creed, both of the learned and the ignorant; and while an attentive performance of mere external rites, is supposed to be a substitute for moral duties, or an atonement for systematically practised vices, of the most aggravated nature.

The moral evil arising from the most senseless ceremonies, and idolatrous rites of every discription, practised in honour of imaginary beings, who are, themselves, described as monstrously wicked, cannot possibly be stemmed, by a number of good precepts and maxims, however current they may be, either in the books read by the few, or in the daily conversation of the many. Idolatry itself, is often repudiated in India, as it has frequently been in other civilized countries, but still it has been every where practised, in defiance of the constantly, and powerfully repeated protest of the best and wisest of the community. In a great variety of places in the Shasters, it is acknowledged to be of no use, and in some passages it is even denounced as sinful. Thus in one of them it is said, "All those ignorant persons, who regard as God, an image of earth, metal, stone, or wood, subject themselves to bodily misery, and can never obtain final deliverance," that is, salvation. In the Bhagwat Gita, a book of the highest authority among the Hindoos, as containing a system of doctrine ascribed to the god Krishna, it is said, "He who worships matter, becomes matter himself"—meaning that he becomes a degraded, stupid being, unable to form intelligent conceptions of any thing true or spiritual.

But however much indolatry may be denounced as erroneous, and even pernicious, it is always, to the people, a pleasant substitute for the performance of moral duties, often much more difficult than mere external rites, attention to which is generally a mere holyday amusement, not unfrequently combined even with the free indulgence of gross sensuality. It is not, therefore, in general, chosen by the people of such a country as India, because nothing better is

known, or has ever been heard of, but in preference to sentiments and practices, generally regarded by all sensible men, even amongst themselves, as in every respect, more rational and useful.

The very refinements by which indolatry is so often defended in India, clearly show, that by many of the people its unreasonableness is strongly felt, while the universal admission, that it is the corruption of an ancient and purer faith, leaves the great body of the better informed classes of Hindoos, in respect to idolatry, as well as morality, in a state, generally, of serious responsibility. The nature and extent of the moral accountableness in which a people thus situated may be involved, must form a subject of deep interest, and great difficulty. It is not, however, a subject that we shall presume to discuss, unless in a general way. But from the amount of moral knowledge possessed, as we have shown by the Hindoos, and also from their constant recognition of the existence and attributes of God, acting, in one form or another, as the supreme judge, it will be evident that, the Hindoos cannot, as a people, whatever may be the state of individuals among them, be regarded as either destitute of the means, or of the ability to judge of moral right or wrong, in all essential particulars; and that even a large portion of them is ready to admit, that while, to a great extent, "they know their Lord's will, they do it not."

There is, as we have seen, a great probability, that the principal rules of morality, current in India, are, partly at least, actually of divine origin, being derived from the early patriarchal revelations, preserved by tradition, and embodied ultimately in the more complicated systems of the Hindoo sages. Be this as it may, these moral rules are believed by the people to be really the dictates of divine inspiration, and therefore of supreme obligation. Their violation, therefore, is fully acknowledged to be the violation of a divine law, which they are morally bound to observe. The idea of moral accountableness is, therefore, very distinctly admitted by the Hindoos themselves, unless by a comparatively small number of them, whose minds have become mystified, or bewildered, by abstruse, or pantheistical speculations. But even by them, while it may be professedly

denied, it is, practically, fully admitted, and acted upon, in all the real transactions of life, and in all their intercourse with society.

Whatever, therefore, may be the difficulties connected with the subject of the moral responsibility of the heathen, when viewed with reference to mere savage tribes, who have neither laws, records, nor codes of moral principles, or maxims; and who have neither public teachers, nor definite social institutions, unless of the most imperfect kind; there does not seem to be any more difficulty about it in reference to the Hindoos, some few individual, or supposeable, cases being left out of the question, than there is respecting the moral accountableness of the great mass of the European population. As far as the belief of the gospel, or conformity to the higher rules of Christianity, is concerned, they can only be responsible, to the extent to which the knowledge of them has come within their reach. They could not have either believed, or obeyed, what was never brought before them. Our Saviour says with respect to the Jews, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin, but now they have no cloak for their sin." Their responsibility was proportioned to their means of knowledge: and such, we presume, must be the case with all men. All must at least be responsible for the proper use of what they know, of the divine rules for human conduct, be it much or little, and must be held as bound to render obedience to direct injunctions, which they themselves profess to believe have been given, for the guidance of their conduct, by God himself. Every moral rule, enjoined by what they regard and acknowledge as divine authority, is to them binding on the conscience, and every confessed disobedience of such, is a confession of guilt, and is always so regarded, even among the heathen themselves; hence it generally leads to the performance of religious rites, in order to obtain forgiveness, and is thus distinctly associated with an admission of sinfulness, or at least of error.

A people, who, like the Hindoos, fully admit the existence of divine moral laws against murder, manslaughter, adultery, fornication, falsehood in all its forms, malice, hatred, anger, oppression,

injustice, all of which, as well as almost every other sin denounced in our own scriptures, as well as the dispositions which give birth to them, are regarded as punishable both in this life and beyond death; while on the other hand they believe that promises of present and future rewards are given, to benevolence, chastity, conjugal fidelity and affection, obedience to parents, truthfulness, gratitude, trustworthiness, temperance, justice, forbearance, forgiveness of injuries, contentment, generosity, protection of the weak, devotion, &c.; such a people, we say, cannot surely be in a state which absolves them from moral responsibility in the sight of the supreme Judge, who will, doubtless, judge them by no law of which they were necessarily ignorant, but according to that which, in whatever form it appear, is still accessible to them.

But, however numerous may be the excellent rules and precepts contained in the Hindoo books, and well known among the people, the morality of India must necessarily be but a frail structure, while on the one hand it is so completely undermined by abstract speculations, and has its defects on the other hand, so very unsatisfactorily supplied, by the easy and popular substitutes of superstitious ceremonial rites,—pilgrimages, and ablutions. In his essential nature, God is too abstract a conception to have any influence on the character of man. He has nothing to do with the affairs of mortals. The ideas of the common, or derived deities, are gross and revolting, and exhibit them more as the patterns of vice than the rewarders of virtue. Religion and virtue, therefore, instead of being naturally and inseparably allied, have become almost antagonistic. While the philosophical notions formed of God, are abstract and subtile, and entirely dissociate him from all concern either in the creation, or the government of the universe; the mean and degrading views of him, formed by the ordinary classes of the people, through the medium of the gross polytheistic absurdities of the common mythological Shasters, reduce the deity, in one form or another, to be almost an object of contempt. As it respects moral character, most of the mythological forms of the deity, are such as naturally tend to give *eclat* to vices of the worst kinds, by exhibiting them as

constantly practised by the gods themselves. Their example is very rarely such as to encourage virtue.

Some of the gods are, indeed, frequently represented as giving very good advice, or delivering excellent precepts to mortals, but as often violating them by their own conduct; and the pernicious effects of this on the popular mind, cannot possibly be effaced by the common dogma of Hinduism, that the gods cannot sin, because they are not, like men, subject to law, but may do as they please; nor yet by any cold lessons on morality, or by virtuous maxims, however forcibly expressed. Neither gods nor men can teach morality with effect, unless they rigidly practise its rules. Hence it is, that, while the knowledge of morality, and the general acknowledgement of the truth, and propriety of its rules, are common among all classes of the Hindoos; so that it is quite impossible that they should be regarded, as really ignorant of what is good in itself, and morally fit to be done, or of what ought to be avoided as sinful; the general effect, both of their philosophical sentiments, and of their popular superstitions, is the most pernicious that can well be conceived, by making it ultimately a matter of comparatively little moment, whether a man pursues a virtuous or a vicious course. There is no want of rules for distinguishing right from wrong, many of which are, for practical purposes, sufficiently definite; but the motives presented are generally of a secondary character, and by far too feeble in their nature, to have any commanding influence, when brought to act against deep rooted human passions, or even strongly felt temporary interests.

In short, the Hindoos are able enough, to know the right, but there is nothing in their creed, or general system of opinions, sufficiently powerful to deter them from choosing the wrong; and, unless where there is a strong natural tendency to abstract sentimentalism, sufficient to produce religious mysticism, which is exceedingly common among the Hindoos, they very often give themselves up entirely to the government of the appetites, and passions, casting off all regard to the principles and maxims of morality, unless in so far as they may be constrained to observe them, from a prudent

regard to self-interest, and the fear of temporal disgrace, or social degradation, than which nothing can possibly act more powerfully on the Hindoo mind; which clings to its social relationships, with a tenacity, not easily conceived of by us, whose habits are less indelible.

Self-love is, indeed, fully admitted to be the only powerful motive from which men act, or can be expected to act here below, though, sometimes, even higher motives are represented as attainable. "Whatever," says the Dharma Shaster, "a man performs, it is wrought from the desire of a reward."—"And when he rises so high as to be able to act without any view to the fruit of his actions, he would attain the state of the immortals." Thus, while the desire of a reward, is supposed to be the principal, and general motive, from which good actions proceed, it is still regarded as possible for man to rise higher than this state of selfishness; but in such a case he would ascend above humanity, and partake of the same nature with the gods, who, though they may often become incarnate, are not doomed to the constant transmigrations from body to body, to which the human soul is subject.

Some have spoken of the Hindoos as having no conscience whatever, so that what the apostle Paul says of the heathen generally, —"their conscience also bearing them witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing, or else excusing one another," has no application to the Hindoos. This seems to me a complete absurdity, for what, after all, is conscience, but the discrimination of the understanding, between actions and states of mind, as either morally right, or morally wrong? However much the understandings of the Hindoos may be darkened, their minds bewildered, or their feelings blunted, so that their remorse for evil deeds may not be great, they have still, undoubtedly, the power of forming an opinion, on everything essentially good or evil in their own conduct, or in that of others, that, in general, will be found not far from the truth. The constant appeal which they make to God, as "the searcher of hearts," to bear witness, either to their actions, or motives, is sufficient to attest the existence of a conscience within

them. In India one daily hears such phrases as the following, uttered with great seriousness:—"God knows what is in my heart;"—"I speak in the presence of God;"—"God examines my heart;"—"God is my witness;"—"God will take an account of my deeds;"—"God sees me and my actions." Such expressions may be, and no doubt are, often used very thoughtlessly; and even when the conduct convincingly declares, that there is no deep, nor abiding conviction of their truth or importance; but still they distinctly indicate the general recognition of the great fact, that "God searches the hearts and tries the reins of the children of men;" and that every thing "is naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Where such sentiments are undoubtingly received, and generally acknowledged, there must be a conscience of the moral good, or evil in actions, however imperfectly that conscience may be enlightened, or however much its influence may be destroyed, and its sensitiveness impaired, by doctrinal errors, corrupting associations, and superstitious delusions.

The very fact that they seek, by so many difficult and expensive modes, to obtain deliverance from the burden of, and penalty due to sin, or to be cleansed from its pollution, demonstrates the presence of a conscience, or what amounts to the same thing, a consciousness of guilt. On one occasion when looking on a vast multitude collected from all parts of the country, to bathe for religious purposes at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, consisting of some hundreds of thousands of Hindoos, I was conversing with a Brahman about the reason which induced so many to come there, even from distant provinces, "Sir," said he, "they all know that they are sinners, else they would never come here to bathe in the Ganges."

As in scripture certain acts are called works of darkness, so in the Hindoo Shasters, actions and qualities are similarly classified. In the definition given by the great Hindoo lawgiver, of works of darkness, there is a distinct recognition of the power of conscience; every act as he says, being a work of darkness; "which a man is ashamed of having done, of doing, or of going to do." As every man is ready to confess, that in the course of his life, he has done

many such things, or at least feels convinced that he has done many things, of which he is within himself secretly ashamed; whether or not he may apply to this feeling any word, or name, equivalent to our word *conscience*, he at any rate has the thing meant by it—"His conscience bearing witness, and his thoughts the meanwhile, accusing or else excusing one another."

Such a conscience may, among very rude tribes, be so very imperfectly developed, in their isolated and savage state, before they receive impressions from more civilized society, that it may scarcely seem to exist; but the Hindoos, as a people, do not come under any such description. They have always been a civilized people, and there is every evidence that, in the earliest ages of the world, they were in close contact, and intercourse, with the nations inhabiting the primeval seats of mankind, where the patriarchal religion longest maintained its ground, and where its institutions mingled most with the forms and customs of society, handed down by tradition. The principal races of central Asia, from whom the Hindoos are descended, and with whom they have always been connected, were the ruling nations of most of the ancient world, as well as the ancestors of all the great dominant races of modern times. Those nations were all, for many ages, in close contact with each other, speaking merely dialects of the same great original language, from which nearly all the languages of Europe, Persia, and India, have sprung, as from one great primordial root. Their mythologies, though gradually diverging widely from each other, all exhibit many traces of identity of origin, at least in their more ancient elements, while of all nations left without any immediate divine revelation, they have preserved, most distinctly, many laws and moral rules of patriarchal, and probably even of divine origin, though greatly overlaid by fabulous traditions, and vitiated by vain philosophical speculations. Though these laws in India have received a peculiar development, there is reason to believe that they are not all the result of mere human sagacity, acting independently of all the elements of a system of moral institutes originally divine.

We have no evidence, indeed, of any nation making progress in

moral knowledge, without the aid of divine revelation, though, like the Hindoos, men have reasoned on what they knew, or modified, and formed it into systems adapted to their national taste. Hence the earliest systems are the simplest and purest; and whatever advancement nations may have made in physical science, in general refinement, or in philosophy, and in literary taste, they have made no progress in moral knowledge, unless where moral systems and maxims have been imported from other nations, as was the case in Greece and Rome. The Greeks derived their various systems of philosophy and morals from the East, though they had the merit of dressing them in new and more attractive forms; while the Romans, originally a rude, warlike people, received their knowledge chiefly from the Greeks, and the other nations whom they subdued. In India, on the other hand, there has been no evidence of the importation, either of individual rules, or of systems of morals, at least during the historical period; but there has been much evidence of retrogression. Whatever may be the source of moral precepts, in that country, neither the knowledge, nor the practice of them, would seem to be progressive, and the ingenuity of the teachers has always been more or less employed "to darken wisdom by words without knowledge," and by a perverse casuistry, to sap the foundations of all virtue.

The mind of man is strongly disinclined to give a favourable practical reception to moral truth. Essentially depraved itself, it naturally makes choice of "darkness rather than light." Darkness, when it is wilfully preferred, becomes darker still; and when the soul that chose it, wanders in it for a time, it loses the power of perceiving the light, should it, at any time, be brought into contact with it. Without divine revelation, to bring that light anew to bear on the mind, all perception of its original rays gradually diminishes; and though here and there a feeble glimmering may pierce the gloom, and merely render the "darkness visible," it is utterly insufficient to guide the lost wanderer to the true knowledge of God, and of his moral law, or to give him any power to obey what is still remembered of divine rules, the faint traces of which

are yet not entirely erased from his heart. Though man is bound to believe all that God has revealed, as well as to obey all that he commands, he is reluctant to believe, what he does not wish to obey, and hence whatever portions of the divine law are not agreeable to him, he willingly forgets, and as willingly supplies their place with superstitious inventions, or quibbles of his own; and because "he does not wish to retain God in his knowledge, God gives him up to a reprobate mind." Thus, preferring falsehood to truth, nations, as well as individuals, may at last believe their own lie. But still the great essential truths of morality cannot be obliterated from the minds of great bodies of men, nor erased from their national monuments, legal institutes, or literature, where they remain distinctly recorded as a testimony against them, or even as a law, by which, with all justice, they may at last be tried.

CONCLUSION.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIA AS A MISSIONARY FIELD, AND THE NECESSITY OF VASTLY INCREASED EXERTIONS FOR ITS EVANGELIZATION.

SYSTEMS of opinion so ancient and so complicated as those referred to in the preceding chapters, it is obvious cannot be easily nor speedily overturned. Nor is it an easy task to remove impediments, so as to allow of purer principles being brought fully and directly to bear, with all their natural energy, on the minds of the vast multitudes composing the population of a country so large as India, by whom such varied and subtle philosophical and religious sentiments have been so long received and cherished as a legacy handed down to them from their ancestors, who lived in the remote ages of antiquity. The strange commingling of good and evil in Hinduism—the interweaving of truth with falsehood—the combination of abstruse systems of transcendantal philosophy with the wild and monstrous fictions of an almost boundless poetical mythology, give to it, in its countless and almost ever-varying forms, the power of adapting itself to the mental peculiarities of almost every order of men—from those possessed of the highest reasoning powers and finest sensibilities, down to those marked by the greatest obtuseness or unthinking stolidity. It gives the fullest scope to the most speculative and restless intellects, by its innumerable metaphysical refinements; while, at the same time, in its endless round of mere ceremonial rites, public festivals, and gross carnal ordinances, it supplies all that is required to gratify the most depraved taste, and to lull into the most unthinking security the multitudes, whose minds are too earthly and sensual to be interested greatly by anything above the mere objects of their own passions and appetites. When the action of such a system has been continued on the mental, and social character of a people, for thousands of years, its impress must have become next to indelible. The transition, even in an individual, from such a state as that in-

duced by the doctrines and social institutions of Hinduism, to one so entirely different, as that which pure Christianity is calculated to establish, must always be extremely difficult; and in a community it must be necessarily slow and subject to many counteracting influences and frequent reactions. The development of entirely new principles and habits, in a large community, never takes place rapidly, unless when subjected to most powerful and active external influences; and even then not without many retrogade movements, and violent struggles between the old and the new—the true and the false. There is no absurdity so great as not to have most zealous defenders, especially when that absurdity is supposed by the masses of mankind, to have been sanctioned by the wisdom of their ancestors, though, whether their ancestors were really wise or ignorant, learned or rude, they seldom stop to enquire. Before a general change of sentiments, in any very large, and long established community, takes place, an under current of new sentiments requires often to have set in for a long time, and to have acquired a considerable degree of strength and momentum. Before it can even be distinctly observed, or its real force recognized, as acting on the still surface of a social system, of such breadth and depth, as that of India, its actual progress must have been great. Small communities are often found to be easily revolutionized, but such is not the case with great inert masses of men accustomed to hereditary opinions, and national institutions, both religious and civil, the growth of many centuries, and associated with all their historical recollections, national monuments, pride, and poetry.

But, though the masses of Indian society are more inert than those of most other countries, they are by no means immoveable, and within the last few years, various symptoms of considerable social changes have begun to appear. Apart from the direct, and increased inculcation of the doctrines of Christianity, there are now many influences in active operation, in India, calculated to produce a change on the current sentiments and habits of its people. Compared to the other agencies that are rapidly undermining the popular creed, the amount of direct missionary agency is but small.

Hence the numbers, who are, either openly or secretly, repudiating the popular creed, and the common superstitions of the country, are far greater than those who, either in name or reality, are to be found embracing Christianity. Compared with the spread of scepticism, the spread of real faith is slow, as the process of undermining Hinduism, has been carried on by a far more powerful instrumentality, than has ever been employed for the building up of the Church of Christ. In the nature of things this could not well be avoided; but the greatest care requires to be taken, lest we should be found to have been only "architects of ruin." The mere destruction of Hinduism is not our object; though even that is desirable, in order to emancipate the human mind from one of the most powerful systems of spiritual bondage, by which it has ever been enslaved. Our purpose is to introduce in its place the truth of God—the pure gospel of Christ—by which alone the souls of men can be delivered from spiritual thraldom, and brought into the "liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free;" so that they may be prepared, by a complete moral transformation, to serve, in this world, the living and true God, and to rise, after death, to be partakers of a pure and eternal life in heaven. Unless, however, a very great augmentation soon takes place, in the real Christian agency employed in India, the disorganization of Hinduism, especially in some of the principal cities, may be complete, before the real and effective organization of the Christian Church has been well begun; so that, instead of idolatry being the most formidable opponent of Christianity, her future struggles may be much more with Atheism, and the various other forms of Infidelity, and irreligion.

For a severe struggle we require to be fully prepared, for it will certainly come, and may indeed be said to have already commenced; for there is scarcely any form of Infidelity, Pantheism, or Atheism, that is not even now in active operation in India. To encounter these, in all their multitudinous and ever changing shapes, the greatest efforts should be made, and the best energies of the Christian world should be roused, as India, not improbably, will be one of the principal battle fields, in which the victory over

some of the most dangerous errors, and speculations, is destined to be achieved. The progress of European science and literature, under the patronage of the Indian government, as well as of individuals, and the general knowledge spreading among the masses, from the increasing intercourse with Europeans, are making way for a great social change. Gross superstitions are giving way, before the ever deepening influence of new opinions, on almost every subject of human knowledge. But are Christians to wait till Hinduism has been overthrown, and till the philosophical scepticism of the worst schools of European Infidelity, has become amalgamated with the subtleties of oriental Pantheism, before the simple and soul directing doctrines of the gospel be fully and emphatically announced? Let the gospel, where it cannot precede, go at least, hand in hand with science, (and all true science must be favourable to its progress), so that it may sanctify and ennoble everything else taught to the heathen, and render all knowledge subservient to the advancement of the present happiness, and eternal salvation of men. The conversion of India would be the most decisive victory over Satan's heathen empire that could be gained by the Church, as its influence over all other eastern countries is incalculably great; and were India once converted to Christ, its natives might go forth and spread the gospel over all the surrounding regions; as their ancestors propagated Budhism over the neighbouring countries, with a zeal and energy worthy of a nobler and better cause.

Another enemy of pure Christianity is making very strenuous efforts to counteract our labours in India. Popery seems disposed to make India a battle field on which to oppose Protestantism, and, therefore, ought to be promptly met, before it obtain that traditionary hold on the minds of the natives, on which it chiefly depends for its power to enslave their souls, and blind the eyes of their understandings. The Church of Rome is trying to put in motion all her complicated machinery, and to organize her forces to subjugate the millions of India to her authority; and though her success has yet been small, she must be carefully watched, and vigorously counteracted, before her strength becomes formidable as a

rival to the purer institutions of a scriptural Christianity. To anticipate Popery in India, by an extensive circulation of the word of God, and by the establishment of institutions adapted to the state of the country, and the habits of its people; and, especially, by raising up a large, well instructed body of ministers of the gospel, both European and native, will be the best means of guarding against the ascendency, at any future period, of that most pernicious system of corrupted Christianity—a system, in its worst forms, not much better in its tendency than Hinduism itself.

The increased supply of the higher description of agency, for the evangelization of India, is the peculiar work of the churches of Britain, and America. A native agency proportionable, both in amount and character, will naturally spring up in India, as the result of the success of an effective European agency, diligently and perseveringly employed. Christianity, as yet, is an exotic in India, and will not be really healthy till it has been naturalized—if it can be truly said that a plant so heavenly ever becomes naturalized in the barren soil of this sinful world. But, speaking comparatively, Christianity may be said to be naturalized in a country, when its churches, and its ministers, are so far advanced, as not only to be able to exist, but to propagate and maintain its doctrines and discipline, without being dependent on foreign aid. To what extent the native churches and ministers in India might as yet be able to exist, and make progress by themselves, it is impossible to say, but that they have still much of an exotic character is certain, and to leave even the best of them without constant care, and watchful aid, would, as yet, be a very dangerous experiment, though it might not lead to their absolute decay and destruction. By judicious management, and careful instruction, and superintendence, the defects natural to the native agency in its present state of comparative infancy, will be gradually remedied, as it advances towards maturity, under the fostering care of an efficient body of European missionaries. But if that body should be feeble and fluctuating, or composed of indifferently qualified men, the native agency cannot soon be expected to reach that state of efficiency that would enable it to

act independently, and with real success, in the evangelization of the immense population of India.

The conversion of a country, so large and so distant, by European missionaries, is, in the nature of things, impossible, but still without their instrumentality, that conversion, humanly speaking, never can, take place. Their labours and influence must necessarily form, more especially in its earlier stages, the most important and all stimulating element, in that great process, by which the general sentiments of the people must be entirely revolutionized, before the great and complicated system of Hinduism, in all its diversity of modifications, can be entirely overturned, and Christianity in all its purity be established in its place, and obtain a commanding and regenerating influence over the entire Indian mind, so as to completely remodel the whole social system. In India, more than in any other country, owing to the very peculiar institutions of caste, the introduction of Christianity must lead to a complete dislocation of the whole frame-work of society. It will not occasion merely a change of opinions, and an elevation of moral character, as in some other countries, but will lead to the most important, and radical changes in the most intimate relationships and social usages, as well as in the habits of private life, and the forms of ordinary intercourse; while it will level many of the proudest and most cherished distinctions between individuals and classes of men, and reconcile antipathies of the most inveterate kind. The difficulties that must arise in the course of such a great social revolution, as that now fast approaching, or even already commenced in India, may be expected to be of the most serious nature. To meet them properly great wisdom and energy, as well as practical experience will be required. Rash or imprudent conduct might be dangerous, or even ruinous to the cause, while a want of proper energy might be equally fatal to success.

Whatever may be the amount of native agency, that may be raised up in India, it will be long before an affective body of European missionaries can be dispensed with, to take the lead in every department of labour, for though the natives engaged in missionary operations, are increasing in number, and improving in character,

many of them are still from the debilitating effects of heathenism, but comparatively feeble, and ill prepared to stand entirely alone as public teachers of Christianity, in the midst of the heathen. They require support, encouragement, and advice, to enable them to stand fast in the faith, and perseveringly to proclaim it to others, and also patiently to bear the obloquy to which they are daily exposed, among their unbelieving fellow-countrymen.

In some, especially of the older missions in India, there is now a considerable number of young men, who are the sons of native Christians, as well as some others, the sons of heathens, who have been educated in our schools, and have made a profession of faith in Christ. These, having received a good Christian education, form a very interesting class, out of which, from time to time, some are being brought forward, well qualified to act as teachers, and some of them even as preachers of the gospel. Such young men, have had very superior advantages to those enjoyed by converts who have abandoned heathenism only after they reached the years of maturity; as they are not only possessed of a better education, but all their ordinary sentiments and habits, have been formed more upon a Christian model. This new generation, especially those of it, whose parents have been Christians, will be far more pure from the leaven of heathenism, than the first converts of mature age, can well be expected to be; and some of the young men so brought up, will, no doubt, be better qualified for becoming useful pastors and teachers, than those whose early habits have been entirely formed, amidst idolatrous connexions and associations, and whose earliest feelings, and sentiments, have been completely saturated with all the grossest pollutions of heathenism. The maturing, and directing of native agents of various kinds, will form, in future, a considerable, if not even the principal, part of the work of European missionaries. Even when well educated and introduced to their work, the presence and counsel of Europeans, will long be of great use to support and stimulate them in the arduous struggle in which they have to engage; and the more we can supply India with well selected European missionaries, the more speedily will a large body

of suitable native evangelists be produced, to carry the gospel into every district of that great country. The qualifications of missionaries, sent from this country to India, ought, therefore, to be of a high order. Great intelligence is necessary. Sound learning and the best talents for public instruction, in various forms, will find the most ample scope; while the work of transfusing into the native languages all kinds of true knowledge, presents an unbounded field of usefulness to men of literary capabilities; as books of almost every description are required in great numbers, and of a Christian character, in order to displace the frivolous, and pernicious heathen literature of the country. European missionaries are not often required in India to act merely as local pastors, or to have their labours circumscribed by the population of a small town, or village. Work of such a limited range may generally be done by native agents, but it will be done far better, if the natives are under the influence of Europeans, who are themselves capable of presenting in their own persons, such models of preaching talent, and pastoral efficiency, as may be calculated to lead them to imitate a high and scriptural standard. Without such models before them, and that constantly, it is not to be expected, that men who have just emerged from the darkness of heathenism, and have not yet escaped entirely from the debilitating effects of its deadly moral atmosphere, can at once become not only able but spiritually efficient ministers of the pure gospel of Christ.

By sending out and sustaining, in India, with persevering zeal, a considerable number of pious, able, learned, and energetic men, in whom the churches at home may reasonably have full confidence, all that can be done for India by this country may be accomplished. Much preliminary work has already been done. The ground has not only been broken in many important places, but much seed has been sown, and has begun to germinate. Though, compared to the great magnitude of the population of India, the gospel has not been very extensively propagated, yet it has been actually planted, and has struck root in the soil, though it has still much of the feebleness of an exotic, and for years may require to be watched over and

watered, lest its healthful growth be prevented by the ungenial influences to which it is exposed. The more care and labour we can bestow on its cultivation, the more speedily will it expand into a strong and healthy tree, extending its wide-spreading branches in every direction, and producing abundance of fruit to the praise and glory of Him, in whose name we are called both to plant and to water.

We do not require European missionaries to be spread over every part of India. A number of strong and efficient missions, at some large, central places, is what is most especially wanted. At such stations, churches may be formed, into which the first converts may be gathered and instructed by European missionaries. Wherever, among the converts, suitable individuals may be found, capable either of preaching the gospel, or teaching schools, they might be duly trained, and sent forth to labour where most required, in any capacity for which they may be found best qualified; and wherever success might attend their labours, churches might be formed, over which, in due time, native pastors may be settled, and schools established, for extending Christian knowledge among the heathen around. At the more central stations, where the Europeans labour, institutions for the education of a native ministry might be established; and also a complete and efficient system of education, for the children both of Christians and heathen, of a higher order than that given in the schools of the out stations. Every station, occupied by European missionaries, would thus become a centre of great general influence, and as the native agency, sent out from it, increased in number and efficiency, that influence would gradually expand, till it embraced the whole population of an extensive district. Every such mission, therefore, ought to be at some large and influential place, naturally adapted for commanding the adjacent country, and not at any mere ordinary town; and wherever Europeans are employed at all, a strong and vigorous body should at once be formed, capable of carrying on every branch of missionary labour, on a scale in some degree proportioned to the real magnitude of the object—the evangelization of a great and

populous region. Where churches are to be founded, schools of different descriptions, for various classes of youth, both Christian and heathen, to be formed—seminaries instituted for the training of a native ministry—and the basis laid for a complete Christian literature for an extensive population, strong bodies of European missionaries should, in the first instance, be formed. The result of the combined labours of such bodies would be the early production of the best means for still further extension, and I have no doubt but it will be generally found, that a concentration of one kind of power will most surely and speedily furnish the means for the expansion of another. Native agency, before India can be evangelized, must be spread over the length and breadth of the land, and must be found pervading every city, town, and village; but such an extension of European agency is not required, and is altogether impossible. In occupying any great country by an invading army, it is not necessary that every town, much less that every village should be invested. It is quite enough that all the strongest fortresses should be taken possession of, to secure the general submission of the whole country; while for the general settlement, and subjugation of the various districts, those natives who have yielded to, or joined with, the invaders, are generally found to be successful agents. Thus the British government in India does not require an immense European force to hold in subjection its mighty empire, or even to defend it from external aggression; though it is still a fact, that an European force is the basis of its power, without which it could not exist in India at all; but by the superior and extraordinary skill, talent, and valour, which it has been able to command, it has succeeded in organizing its native subjects, so as to secure an authority so extensive and complete, as to be altogether unparalleled in the history of the world, by means of the people themselves. Withdraw the European part of the organization of our Indian empire, and that empire itself would at once dissolve, and a political chaos at once ensue; though many of its elements might remain, and traces of its former existence be almost everywhere seen. The same is, to a large extent, the position of Christianity

in India. The native portion of it is not yet sufficiently mature, nor have its institutions been sufficiently consolidated, to permit us to have confidence in it, were our European agency withdrawn, or even greatly weakened; but, on the contrary, every thing like progress, depends, as yet, on the presence and active energies of Europeans, although the greater part of the actual work, in its various and minuter details, may be performed by natives.

As in the Anglo-Indian government, so it is with Anglo-Indian Christianity in its present state; an European agency of a very select kind is required, so arranged and distributed as to call forth, and direct to their proper objects, the various native agencies, already existing, or likely soon to be called into existence, so as to bring their whole power to bear, in the most effectual manner, both on the destruction of Hinduism and Muhammadanism, and on the speedy extension of Christianity. Though much European labour may yet be required, it may ultimately be found that a smaller body of European missionaries, than is generally supposed, may suffice for the conversion of India. Foreign agency is most essentially necessary at the commencement, or in the early stages of the undertaking, in order to give Christianity a firm footing in the country. The number of European missionaries requisite, when once the gospel has been more fully spread in India, instead of being greater than at present, will probably not be so great, though a small European agency, of a very select kind, will be of immense advantage to the rising churches of India, even for ages to come, however prosperous beyond our most sanguine expectations they may be, and however efficient and successful their native ministry. Such a body would always be of great importance, if composed of enlightened and thoroughly orthodox men, to be a channel of intercourse, especially between Indian Christians, and the more mature and experienced churches of Europe; and thus become the means of preventing, or counteracting such corruptions of doctrine and practice, as are apt to arise in all countries, during the earlier stages of their Christian history.

In the transition from heathenism to Christianity, many of the

elements of the former, are often, and almost imperceptibly amalgamated with the latter, and are afterwards gradually developed, in new forms, and combinations, most pernicious in their influence on the internal character, and even on the doctrines, of the Church. It was from such combinations that the monstrous system of Antichrist was at first produced. The danger of similar errors springing up in India, is very far from being chimerical, when we consider the grossness of Indian sensuality on the one hand, and on the other, the peculiar tendency of the Indian mind to abstruse metaphysical speculations. A strong body of men of high character, for talents and soundness in the faith, will do much to prevent the occurrence of such evils in the churches of India, by conveying to them all the purer and more healthy influences, that may arise from time to time in the older and more settled parts of Christendom. While, therefore, there can be no doubt, but native agency is that by which, not only India, but every other country, must be eventually converted to Christ, the proper duty of the churches of Europe, and America, is to pour all the agency they can muster, into India; while it is so accessible, and presents a field so inviting; resting assured that, when such an agency is liberally supplied, and accompanied with faith and prayer, the blessing of God on its labours will not be withheld, and the result of its success will be the raising up of a thoroughly effective native ministry, so much desired as the chief hope of the church, and the most powerful instrument for the regeneration of India.

Of the complete success of our missions, in India, there can be no fear. It is only a question of time. Many of the once formidable obstacles have already been overcome; but many very serious difficulties are still to be encountered, before two systems, so powerful as Hinduism and Muhammadanism, can be entirely subverted. Before their last death struggle comes, it is impossible to say what desperate efforts may be made by them, to regain their power, for it is scarcely probable that they will, either of them, expire by a gradual process, without at least some spasmodic, and writhing attempts, to destroy their assailants.

Already thousands are joining the standard of the cross in India, and Christianity, in one form or another, is daily making inroads on heathenism, and is acquiring strength for still greater achievements, while superstition in its various forms is becoming feebler, and hastening to decay. Heathenism, in its present form, cannot long endure. Even its own most zealous advocates frequently acknowledge its insecurity. It is most important, therefore, that the Church of Christ should not delay her efforts, till heathenized Christianity, as professed by the church of Rome, and the semi-Romanists of Oxford Tractarianism, become powerful in India. Heathenized Christianity is not much better than Hinduism, in its real moral results, though its outward aspect may not seem quite so gross, and if India is to be overrun by it, what are we to expect, but a long reign of idolatrous superstitions, bearing a Christian name? The various corrupt churches of Christendom, are merely the natural off-spring of compromises with heathen communities, who were never really converted by any proper evangelical means, but transformed into nominal Christians, by methods altogether different from those authorized by the great Head of the Church.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to guard India against such sytems of spurious Christianity, as well as against the errors of Infidelity and Pantheism, to which, in a state of religious transition, the more thinking classes of her people are most exposed. In appealing to British Christians on behalf of India, we would, therefore, most especially solicit their attention to the unspeakable importance of sending out a great number of pious, well educated, and able young men, to strengthen the missions already formed, and to enter on new fields of labour. All our missions require to be enlarged; and some of them are in such a condition, that, unless a considerable enlargement soon takes place, many of the fruits of past labour will most probably be lost. In not a few instances, the foundation of a church has been laid, and that with much labour and difficulty, while the founders have been removed by death, or sickness, without being succeeded by other workmen, capable of completing the structure. Such a small number of agents, in proportion to the

work, is usually employed, that when one fails, no other can take his place, as each has some pressing engagement of his own. A great increase in the number of missionaries, in every part of India, is most urgently required, but a lack of suitable men is still much experienced; though surely, considering the comparatively small number that the existing Societies have the means of supporting, there must be as many well qualified young men as could be employed, sufficiently unembarrassed to be able to offer themselves for this service, were they to take it into serious, and prayerful consideration. There are, scattered over the country, many young men, who profess an ardent attachment to the missionary cause, and who, in particular, take a deep interest in the conversion of India and China, of whose qualifications there is no reason to doubt; and whose present spheres of usefulness seem neither so extensive nor inviting, as to present any serious obstacle to their offering themselves for fields, of perhaps greater difficulty, but of much more relative importance, especially as there would be no great fear of their places at home being speedily, and properly supplied.

It has frequently been proposed, and I did myself, some years ago, propose, that such young pastors as might be considered suitable, might have appointments offered to them in the missionary field, by the Directors, without waiting till they themselves came forward as candidates. I have still little doubt but such a plan may be occasionally resorted to with considerable advantage, but on the whole, I am now more inclined to think, that a spontaneous offer of service is much to be preferred, as, in all ordinary cases, it is a more decided and satisfactory evidence of real missionary zeal. Where such zeal is really a strong, animating principle, it ought to be sufficiently powerful to induce one to offer his services to the missionary society, as readily as to the home college committees, or to any other body who may be called to decide on his fitness for the ministry, and to submit his qualifications to the judgment of men, generally regarded as capable, of giving an opinion respecting their adaptation to the work. Every man, before he receives a call from a church at home, has to appear, in some way or other, as a candi-

date; and surely there can be no more indelicacy in presenting one's self to a missionary committee, as a candidate for employment in the service of Christ abroad, than in preaching before a congregation with the hope of obtaining its suffrages for an election as pastor. A rejection by a missionary society, some worthy young men, who have thoughts of foreign labour, particularly dread, as hurtful to their professional character. Such a rejection, however, in many cases, does not imply the least doubt respecting one's qualifications for the ministry at home, for which a man may be very competent, while there are some peculiarities in the missionary work, which may render it somewhat, if not entirely unsuitable for him. A man may be well qualified for being a useful pastor, while there may be something about the constitution of his mind, or body, which would render his appointment as a foreign missionary, to say the least, unadvisable. In declining the services of a candidate, no one should suppose that the Directors, of any missionary society, mean to pronounce any opinion whatever on his general qualifications for the home ministry. For that he may even be very highly qualified, while those who are most intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of the missionary work, may have the very best reasons for thinking that it would not be suitable for him. I am acquainted with a very large number of truly godly and most useful home ministers, who, I am convinced, could never have been of much use in India, from causes that do not in the least affect their characters, or success at home; while, at the same time, it may still be regarded as a general rule, that a man really well qualified for the home ministry, would make also, a good missionary in any part of the world.

I should much prefer seeing the Directors, always in possession of a long list of young men, either in the course of training, or who have recently entered on the ministry; but who have announced themselves as ready to go abroad, if required, their qualifications having been already ascertained and approved. On any appointment falling vacant, it might then be offered to any one of the approved candidates, who might be judged most suitable, instead of

the places having often to remain unsupplied, till some one is found available, which is now often the case, even for a considerable time after a resolution has been passed, either to form a new mission, or to strengthen some one already established. Were our young men, more generally, conscientiously to place themselves at the disposal of the Church, ready to labour wherever they are most required, we should soon have missionaries in abundance both for India and China. Let us hope that such will soon be the case, and that with augmented pecuniary resources, and ever widening and ripening fields of labour, we shall have a greater number than ever coming forward, saying, "Here am I, send me."

"India now presents a boundless field of labour, and every young man should consider in entering on the ministry, whether or not he is called to enter on that field; and every society should consider whether it has done its duty to the world, so long as thousands of large cities, towns and villages, are entirely destitute, in a land fully open to its efforts. It is true, we do not require from home so many men as would be adequate to the complete evangelization of India. The natives themselves will no doubt evangelize their own country much easier than we can do; but let us set to the work in earnest, and lay such a foundation as they will be able to build on at once. Devise liberal things, and in the end they will be found to be most economical. To send a force so strong as to ensure at once the discomfiture of an enemy, is always in the end the best, since it prevents unnecessary waste, either of blood, or of the munitions of war. Now that there can be no serious difficulty in occupying every important place in India, with such bodies of Missionaries as in a few years, with the Divine blessing might lay the foundation of Christian Churches with a native ministry, every effort should be made to produce an universal extension of our plans and operations. If, instead of sending out to India twos and threes, our Society were to make one grand effort to send out some fifty or sixty at once, to be distributed over all their stations where some foundation has been laid, and where the building, were there workmen, might go on with rapidity, I have no doubt, but in a few years such a measure would

tell with amazing power on the progress of the Gospel. All around the older stations there are suitable places to form new ones, so that by diverging from where we have already done something, we might gradually, as our numbers of efficient men, whether European or native, increased, so spread over the country, as more or less to embrace its immense population within the range of our operations. In no other country has God presented to us such a splendid sphere for demonstrating the true character of Christianity, as the power and wisdom of God for salvation, as in India. Other lands may have great claims, but this is the *greatest land* in the world, open to every effort of Christian philanthropy. We have not here the task-master or slave-driver, to step in between men and the Gospel, nor a tyrannical government to oppose the improvement of the people; but a people enjoying the utmost domestic freedom even in a state of moral degradation, and a government composed of the most honourable men, most of whom are not only favourable to the advancement of civilization, but would rejoice to see the peaceful progress of the Gospel overturn every superstition in the country. Should Christians not unite to extend the Gospel in India now, when can they enjoy a more favourable opportunity? If we neglect a duty which Providence has given us the opportunity and means of performing, can we expect that it will be less difficult at any future period? Every one who can either personally or indirectly do any thing for India's salvation, should do it now. God forbid that her political horizon should ever be darkened, or that the empire of Britain over her should ever cease, till she has received from the ruling country, all the blessings of Gospel light and civilization. But the history of nations is often mysterious; and if we are found neglectful of our trust in India, who can tell the result? Was it for nothing that the most splendid empire in the world was given to the Christian people of a little Western Island of the Sea? Why was Britain chosen for this purpose in spite of all the machinations of kings and statesman, and even in spite of herself? When her wisest men opposed her obtaining an inch of independent dominion in the East, why was it that by the most wonderful train of

events, province after province, and kingdom after kingdom were thrown into her hands? And why is it that even now, in some way or other, the frontiers of her wide dominions are yearly extending, so that no one can tell where their limits will stop? Kingdoms a few years ago scarcely heard of by Britons, are now provinces of our sovereign. Can we have any doubt of the purpose of all these wonderful events, when we remember that these vast regions are thus thrown, by an all-wise Providence, into the hands of the only nation that possesses the means adequate to Christianize and civilize them? Let this great work, therefore, be considered the sacred office of Britain To it let her pious youths consecrate all their energies; her old men their influence and wisdom; her rich men their wealth, and her poor their savings and prayers.

Let the British Churches not rest till the work has been accomplished, and India shines as a bright jewel in the Redeemer's crown. Remember it is a great and arduous work. It cannot be done if lightly taken up. Effort upon effort; attack upon attack, must be made, before Satan will resign the richest domain of his kingdom. Every inch of ground will be disputed by the powers of darkness, but if the Church does her part the conquest is certain. Of the blessing of God we are sure, so soon as his people enter as they ought into the work; and perhaps the only reason we have not succeeded better, has been that our efforts were too insignificant, to be pleasing to God, when he had, in his providence, called us to perform such a work.

But let efforts be made for India, to the utmost of the ability of the church, and the Spirit will not be withheld. There can be no doubt of the result. Let all, therefore, with ten-fold energy set to the work; and the day will soon come, when over the wide dominions of Britain in the East, there shall be but one Lord, and his name One; when the impure worship of Hinduism shall have ceased to exist, and the followers of the false prophet shall humbly bow their knees at the name of Jesus."*

* "Letters on India," by the Author.

Spread wide Messiah's banner,
And sound his trumpet loud,
Till India's various nations
Around his standard crowd.

Through groves of green Bengála,
On dark Urissa's shore,
To far Comorin's headland,
Where ocean's billows roar.

O'er sultry, parched Carnatic,
And Mysore's fertile plains;
O'er Malayálim's mountains
Proclaim that Jesus reigns.

From Assam's blooming woodlands,
And Silhet's purling rills;
From Cashmere's far-famed valley,
And Cabul's vine-clad hills;

From sandy banks of Indus,
Where fierce Baloochees roam;
From Cutch, and Scinde, and Panjáb,
Let all the nations come.

From hills and vales of Málwa,
Let all the tribes draw near;
And warlike Rájputána
Messiah's mandate hear.

Where Himwán's lofty mountains
Commingle with the skies;
Or, high o'er Gunga's waters,
Famed Káshi's spires arise;

From Oman's pearly ocean,
To cloud-capp'd, high Nepál—
Proclaim, to gathering millions,
The gospel's joyful call.

Then, gladly all assembling,
The swarthy tribes shall raise
Messiah's glorious standard,
And joyful shout his praise.

Long o'er these prostrate kingdoms
Has darkness held its sway;
But light now streaks the horizon,
And soon will break the day.

The unclouded sun ascending,
Shall chase the shades of night;
And long benighted nations
With gladness hail his light.

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